

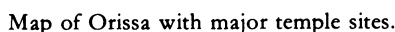


Map of Orissa showing modern districts and district headquarters.

INTRODUCTION

The state of Orissa, situated on the northeast coast of India, has an extremely rich cultural heritage. Though known as Kaliṅga in ancient times, the country was generally divided into numerous territorial divisions which bore different names throughout its long history. After the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka this area appears to have been divided into two major parts, northern and southern Kaliṅga. When Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) visited Orissa in the 7th century, however, it was divided into three distinct regions with the name Kaliṅga being applied to the southern-most area which apparently extended from the southern portions of modern Ganjam district to the river Godāvarī in Andhra Pradesh. The area north of Kaliṅga, extending up to Chilka Lake, was known as Koṅgoda while the northern portion of Orissa was referred to as Oḍra. From other sources, however, it is apparent that Koṅgoda formed part of South Toṣāli, the latter extending to the Mahānadī river while the area north of this centrally located river was called North Toṣāli and extended up to the Vaitaraṇī river. The area north of the Vaitaraṇī, extending into the southern districts of Bengal, was known as Utkala while the western portion of modern Orissa, along with the eastern extremes of Madhya Pradesh, was called Dakṣiṇa Kośala. The hilly country lying between Dakṣiṇa Kośala and the coastal area was generally known as Oḍra while the hill area in the southwest part of Orissa was known as Mahākāntāra. Politically these broad territories were seldom unified and their boundaries fluctuated continuously.

The modern state of Orissa, separated from Bihar in A.D. 1936, extends from 17°49' N to 22°34' N latitude and from 81°29' E to 87°29' E longitude on the eastern coast of India. It covers an area of 60,135 square miles and is divided into thirteen districts. According to the 1971 census it had approximately 22 million people and a population density of 141 people per square km. Oriya is spoken by 76% of the population while the remaining 24% speak various tribal languages. Morphologically Orissa can be divided into five parts: 1) the coastal plains, 2) the middle mountain country, 3) the rolling uplands, 4) the river valleys, and 5) the subdued plateaus. The coast extends approximately 300 miles and is an alluvial belt which contains most of the major towns and the largest concentration of temples, most of which are situated along the rivers draining into the Bay of Bengal. The entire coastal area is in essence the gift of six major rivers and their silt deposits, the largest and most important being the Mahānadī river. Beginning in the north the rivers are the Subarnarekhā, the Budhabalaṅga, the Vaitaraṇī, the Brāhmaṇī, the Mahānadī and the Rushikulyā, with the Brāhmaṇī and Vaitaraṇī joining as they enter the delta of the Mahānadī. At Cuttack the Mahānadī branches into two main estuaries, the second being the Devī. These two branch out into numerous smaller estuaries so that the channels become smaller as they reach the sea. It is along these small estuaries that we have the largest concentration of temples, such as the Citrotpalā, Pracī and Daya, with the remains of close to one hundred temples in the Pracī valley alone. Due to the preponderance of small estuaries, along with numerous canals, and the lack of adequate roads or bridges, many of the temples are difficult of access. As the jungle area gives way to rice paddies, more and more temples are coming to the attention of scholars.



The importance of Bhubaneswar from an archaeological standpoint has long been known. In contrast to Khājūrāho, where the temples all date from a relatively short time, at Bhubaneswar there are extant temples covering nearly a thousand years of sustained

¹ Charles Louis Fabri, *History of the Art of Orissa* (New Delhi, 1974), p. xxi.



Map of the Mahanadi Delta.

architectural activity. This fact alone, as suggested by numerous critics, should be a lucrative inducement for scholarly study: "So many fine examples persisting over such a period of time, make it possible to trace the gradual evolution of this particular movement without difficulty, an opportunity from various causes not presented in anything like the same continuity elsewhere".²

Unfortunately, however, very little in the way of scholarly interest has as yet been directed to the study of Orissan art. The majority of the art books on Orissa have confined their study to the temples of Bhubaneswar and, as their titles affirm, have generally approached the subject from a purely archaeological standpoint rather than stylistic analysis,³ the recent posthumously published book of Fabri and a small book by Vidya

² Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods* (Bombay, 1965), p. 101.

³ Rajendralala Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1961 reprint of 1875 edition); M. M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains* (Calcutta, 1912); Krishna Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar* (Calcutta, 1961).

Dehejia being exceptions.⁴ In general, as pointed out by Panigrahi, Chanda and others, the architectural features of the temples have received the bulk of study while the wealth of sculpture which they possess has been almost unanimously neglected. Part of this neglect is due to the fact that the writers have not looked at the works with an appreciative eye. Chanda, for example, stated that the “sculptures that adorn the well-known temples of Bhubaneswar, Puri and Koṇārak are, with few exceptions, of little independent artistic value.”⁵ Although numerous small articles on Orissan art have been published in recent years, they appear mainly in the small journal published by the Orissa State Museum and are, out of necessity, small in scope.⁶ If interest in the temple art of Orissa is to be kindled a more ambitious undertaking is needed. In survey books on Indian art the art of Orissa is almost universally overlooked except for occasional reproductions of the three most famous temples typifying different phases of the Orissan style at Bhubaneswar, i.e., the Paraśurāmeśvara, Mukteśvara and Liṅgarāja temples, and the Sūrya Deul at Koṇārak. The sculpture, except for occasional erotic reproductions, is completely ignored.

Lack of financial funds, or interest, on the part of the government, both state and national, has also contributed to the overall neglect of Orissan art though in recent years the State Archaeological department has been quite active in surveying previously little known areas replete with temples and in restoring crumbling structures. Even within the immediate environs of Bhubaneswar, however, there are still numerous half-buried temples, including a small 7th century temple in the Yameśvara compound, an 8th century temple in the Bhavānī-Śaṅkara compound, the 10th century Vyomakeśvara temple in the market area at the southeast corner of the Bindusarovara, the 11th century Valukeśvara temple next to the police station opposite the entrance to the Liṅgarāja, and a 13th century temple next to the Śāri Deul. There are in addition many temples in a ruinous state near collapse or overgrown with foliage and roots. In many cases the ruinous condition is due to the neglect of priests attached to the temples who allow roots to grow unimpeded on the structure where they eventually dislodge the stones and lead to total collapse as in the case of the Maṇikeśvara Śiva temple at Śukleśvara. Unfortunately at the state level there has been a lack of trained personnel to carry out major restoration work and in cases where local authorities are active the primary concern is generally on renovation rather than restoration so that the end result bears little resemblance to the original design, an example being the pillared-*maṇḍapa* at Baidyanath (figs. 451-452).

Although it has been frequently pointed out that the Indo-Aryan or Nāgara style of architecture as manifested in the temples of Orissa allows of less modification in its long history than other regional manifestations, thus presenting a more pure form of the Nāgara style,⁷ it is possible to discern regional variations within the style as well as outside architectural influence. At times these non-Orissan features are easily identifiable but in most cases they are adapted to, or synthesized with, the evolving indigenous architectural traditions and appear rather inconspicuous in the overall decorative program. It is generally individual decorative motifs that undergo modification due to external influences and not the general plan or shape of the temple itself; it is for this reason that such modifications are not immediately recognizable. The major research in regards to stylistic

⁴ Vidya Dehejia, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa* (New Delhi, 1979).

⁵ Ramaprasad Chanda, “Explorations in Orissa,” *MAI*, No. 44 (1930), p. 1.

⁶ This journal has recently started up again after a lapse of several years.

⁷ S. K. Saraswati, “Temples of Orissa,” *OHRJ*, I (1953), p. 235.

evolution has focused primarily on the temples at Bhubaneswar. Panigrahi and Debala Mitra⁸ have developed the general lines of this evolution at Bhubaneswar, though Mitra's book is quite small and serves primarily as a tourist's general introduction to the temples. Although Panigrahi's book is the most comprehensive treatment of the monuments at Bhubaneswar, much of his space is devoted to historical and epigraphical material which, though extremely important in any attempt to establish chronological development, necessarily limits the amount of space available adequately to treat artistic and stylistic problems. In regards to the sculpture of these temples, he restricts himself almost exclusively to reproducing cult deities which generally are the most conservative type of image attached to a religious edifice. Little if any space or reproductions are devoted to decorative motifs or subsidiary images, as Panigrahi himself admits,⁹ which generally provide much better indices for stylistic development. If these works by Mitra and Panigrahi are too restrictive in scope, the work by Fabri is too all-inclusive, attempting to treat Buddhist, Jain, Hindu and folk art, as well as painting, from the earliest beginnings to modern times, a virtually impossible task as he points out.¹⁰ The author is also too intent on applying overly generalized Western terminology, such as classical, mannerist and baroque, in describing stylistic evolution and frequently ignores epigraphical evidence altogether.

A) DATING

In respect to chronology, Sanskrit works, e.g., the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, *Svarṇādrimabodaya*, *Ekāmra-Candrikā* and *Kapila-samhitā*, professing to deal with the origin and history of the notable temples at Bhubaneswar, are of little use in developing a stylistic evolution for they attribute the origin and construction of most of the temples to gods and supernatural beings, though they are helpful in furnishing names of the temples together with their approximate location. None of these works is earlier than the third-quarter of the 13th century as they all mention the Ananta Vāsudeva temple which was erected in A.D. 1278.¹¹ Another source, the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the temple chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, is even later in date. The most reliable source is epigraphical records though, unfortunately, few of these are commemorative in nature. The majority of the inscriptions appearing on temples are much later in date than their construction and are silent about who built them. Copper-plate grants are also silent about the temple construction and concern themselves primarily with gifts of villages or land for the maintenance of existing temples. Epigraphical records are also rare on Brahmanical sculptures which, unlike the Buddhist images, bear no inscriptions recording the names of donors or rulers.¹²

Only a handful of inscriptions exist which allow us to date particular temples with precision, the most important being the commemorative inscriptions on the Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara, Ananta-Vāsudeva and Pāpanāśinī at Bhubaneswar and on the Śobhaneśvara Śiva at Niali, the Cāṭeśvara at Kisenpur and the Candraśekhara at Kapilās

⁸ Debala Mitra, *Bhubaneswar* (New Delhi, 1961).

⁹ Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁰ Fabri, *op. cit.*, p. xxi.

¹¹ Shri P. Acharya, "The Commemorative Inscription of the Anantavasudeva Temple at Bhubaneswar", *OHRJ*, I (1953), p. 280.

¹² Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Hill. Inscriptions appearing on the Kedāreśvara and Pārvatī temples at Bhubaneswar, on the Garteśvara temple at Algam and on the Khileśvara temple at Khilor, though not mentioning the date of construction, are helpful in establishing the *terminus ante quem* for these shrines. Inscriptions on other temples, including the Lakṣmaṇeśvara, Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāl Deul, Paścimeśvara (Amangai Island), Mallikeśvara (Paikapada) and Someśvara (Rāṇipur-Jhariāl) can be dated less precisely on palaeographical comparisons. From other epigraphic records we can also date, with some degree of precision, the Sūrya Deul at Koṇārak and the Jagannātha at Puri. Epigraphic evidence thus affords us at least a tentative framework for working out a chronological development for the evolution of the Orissan temple.

The major objective of this study will be to focus on the overall architectural features and decorative program of temples throughout Orissa in an attempt to refine and improve upon the general trends and chronological sequence established by earlier writers for the temples at Bhubaneswar. In so doing historical and epigraphical evidence will be kept to a minimum so that more space can be devoted to the temples and their decorative program. In contrast to earlier writers, such as Panigrahi, the classification of the temples into two or three broad groups, early, middle and late, will be eliminated in favor of a more precise stylistic chronology. In that the actual dates of ruling kings or dynasties is still a matter of controversy I have avoided, for the most part, grouping temples according to historical periods, though there are obvious decorative motifs which can be associated with specific historical periods. The paucity of inscriptional evidence crediting kings with building specific temples seems to imply, as pointed out by Panigrahi, that "the temples were considered as state property rather than the property of the kings during whose reigns they were built."¹³ Whether a temple should be classified as belonging to the late Bhauma or early Somavamśī periods is of little concern to this study. For the most part it is the prevailing architectural traditions, and religious practices, operative at the specific locale that determines the decorative program rather than a particular ruler or individual. Although Narasimha I is credited with building the temples at Simhāchalam (Andhra Pradesh) and Koṇārak, for example, these structures exhibit features peculiar to the local traditions rather than espousing a style favored by the king. Thus a change in ruling power does not immediately, nor even necessarily, mean a change in artistic conventions. In studying the evolving decorative program the prevailing architectural traditions in particular locales must be continually kept in mind, particularly in the more provincial areas, as there is frequently a certain degree of archaism present and a reluctance to adapt new features or motifs appearing on more progressive temples elsewhere.

In refining the chronological evolution of temple construction emphasis will be focused on individual architectural features and decorative components of each temple as it is only by looking at these individual elements that we can adequately plot the stylistic development of Orissan temple art. Past techniques utilized for dating temples, such as the addition of Ketu on the *graha* slab or the change in the silhouette of the *gandī* as it inclines inward near the top,¹⁴ may suggest rough stylistic trends but are too general to indicate sequential placement with any exactitude. Nor can we rely upon the inclusion of a *jagamohana* with the *deul* as an adequate indicator of date as many late temples, such as the

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54.

¹⁴ See R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II (Calcutta, 1931), p. 374.

Kutāitunḍi at Khiching or the triple temples at Baudh, never had a *jagamohana*. The lack of an adequate bonding between the *jagamohana* and the sanctuary likewise cannot be relied upon as the sole criterion for dating as one critic has recently attempted.¹⁵ In many cases the *jagamohana* may be a later addition as there was a tendency in Orissa to add structures to existing shrines, a predilection continuing throughout its long history. For the most part, however, as pointed out by Panigrahi, it is the actual method of construction that led to the discrepancy noted in the joining of the *jagamohana* with the *deul*,¹⁶ whether this method consisted of earthen ramps or inclined wooden planes or a combination of both methods.¹⁷

B) ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Perhaps the most puzzling aspect encountered by scholars studying Indian architecture has been the veritable lack of any progressive evolution leading up to the extant specimens of temple construction. In almost all cases, as pointed out by V. Smith,

each style, when it first comes to our knowledge, is full grown and complete. The earliest specimens betray no signs of tentative effort and in no case is it possible to trace the progressive evolution of a given style from rude beginnings.¹⁸

Recent studies have increased our knowledge in regard to the evolution of temples at specific sites, such as Aihole¹⁹ and Ālampur,²⁰ pointing out experimentation and progressive development, though not without controversy in regard to dating. At Bhubaneswar, however, the earliest extant temples already evince a mature conception and exhibit few signs of any evolutionary progress, aside from elaboration and increasing competence on the part of the artisans, thus suggesting that their origins must lie further back.²¹ This is particularly true in regard to the decorative program of the *deul* in contrast to the rectangular *jagamohana* which was still in an evolving state. The remains of early Gupta architecture are too few, and as yet not systematically studied, to shed much light on any developing progress in north or central India which directly affects the evolution of the Orissan temple, though obviously the Orissan artists borrowed numerous motifs from Gupta sources. The other most likely source of direct influence would seem to be the Cālukya temples at Aihole and Ālampur. We know from the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mangaleśa (dated A.D. 602) that Kīrtivarman I (A.D. 566-597) is credited with the subjugation of hostile rulers of Kālīṅga²² and that Pulakeśin II (A.D. 610-642) had probably occupied southern Kośala and Kālīṅga. There thus was obvious contact between the two cultures. Their respective temple styles, however, are extremely different and the

¹⁵ V. B. Arya, "Chronology of the Temples of the Soma Dynasty", *OHRJ*, XI (1962), pp. 44-45.

¹⁶ Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁷ Panigrahi stresses the earthen ramp method while Debala Mitra believes that the artists constructed inclined wooden planes supported on posts over which the stones were carried tied to a pole.

¹⁸ Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1930), p. 113.

¹⁹ Ramesh S. Gupte, *The Art and Architecture of Aihole* (Bombay, 1967). S. R. Rao, "A Note on the Chronology of Early Chalukyan Temples", *Lalit Kala*, XV (1972), 9-18; Gary Tarr, *Architecture of the Early Western Calukyas*, U.C.L.A. doctoral dissertation, 1969.

²⁰ Odile Divakaran, "Les Temples d'Ālampur et de ses Environs au temps des Calukya de Badami", *Arts Asiatiques*, XXIV (1971), 51-101; M. Rahakrishna Sarma, *Temples of Teligana* (Hyderabad, 1972).

²¹ Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

²² Ramesh S. Gupte, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

basic plan of the Orissan *deul* was already established by this time whereas the Cālukyan temple was still in the process of evolution. It is not until the 8th century, in fact, that a few sporadic Cālukyan features are introduced on Orissan temples. In contrast to the intimacy of the earliest Orissan shrines, consisting only of a sanctum surmounted by a curvilinear spire, the earliest Cālukyan temples, as pointed out by numerous scholars,²³ are characterized by cave-like features including an overwhelming massiveness in conception and simplicity of construction. The groundplan likewise exhibits cave features with the shrine housed in a pillared hall (*maṇḍapa*) divided into nave and side aisles. In the earliest temples at Aihole, such as the Gaudar, the central nave of the pillared *maṇḍapa* is converted into a sanctum while in slightly later temples, such as the Lāḍ Khān, the sanctum is attached to the back wall while a portico (*mukhamandapa*) is added to the front of the *maṇḍapa*.²⁴ On still later temples the sanctum becomes detached from the *maṇḍapa*, with or without an *antarala*, to give an increased axial development to the overall design. A still later development is the addition of a *śikhara* or spire of the northern *rekḥā-nāgara* type as noticed on the Huchhimalli and Durgā temples and on the temples at Ālampur, the spire appearing more as an appendage than an integral part of the structure.

In contrast to this pillared hall arrangement of Cālukyan temples, the Orissan temple begins with the *deul* or sanctum itself which is based essentially on primitive four-door shrines, the *rābhā* niches cutting through the base mouldings simulating doorways, rather than on cave architecture. The earlier prototypes most likely were constructed out of wood and probably had a thatched roof. This appears to be substantiated in the *Canons of Orissan Architecture* compiled by N.K. Bose which consists of material extracted from seven manuscripts of which two deal with the erection of thatched huts, while the other five recensions of the *Bhuvanaprādīpa*, describe three types of temples.²⁵ The axial development of the Orissan temple begins with the *deul* rather than with a hall. The hall, or *jagamohana* (*maṇḍapa*), is added in front of the *deul* and is not always necessary as numerous temples, early and late, were never provided with such a structure. It is not until the late 12th century and later than the axial development of the Orissan temple is increased with the addition of two other structures in front of the *jagamohana*, first a *nāṭa-mandira* which was separated by a short distance from the *jagamohana* and at a later date a *bhoga-maṇḍapa* which was inserted between the *nāṭa-mandira* and the *jagamohana*, though the name and function of these two additions was reversed in the last half of the Gaṅga period. The interior of the Orissan temple is extremely dark and generally devoid of decoration. There is usually no *antarala* leading to the sanctum on the early temples and no *pradakṣiṇā* passage as interior circumambulation was seldom a concern with the Orissan *śilpin*. The *pābhāga* or base mouldings are low on the earliest temples, the *deul* rising directly from the ground, so that the major sculptures are at eye level which greatly increases the intimacy of the shrine. In general, then, there are few similarities in the overall design or conception of Orissan and Cālukyan temples. If there is any direct influence it appears to be Orissan influence exerted on the Cālukya temples. The northern type *śikhara* noticed on the later temples and on the temples at Ālampur, for example, seemingly suggest influence from Orissa and Dakṣiṇa-Kośāla.

²³ Henry Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts* (Calcutta, 1926) and S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, "The Date of the Lad Khan (Surya-Narayana) Temple at Aihole," *Lalit Kala*, X (1961), p. 41.

²⁴ S. R. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

²⁵ N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture* (Calcutta, 1932).

The three architectural orders described in the *Bhuvanapradīpa*—the *rekḥā*, *bhadra* (*pīḍha*) and *khāḥarā*—are all employed in various periods in Orissa for the *deul* of the temple complex though in the mature plan, achieved by the latter part of the 10th century, it is the *rekḥā* order that becomes the standard plan for this most sanctified part of the shrine which houses the image, or symbol, of the presiding deity while the *pīḍha* order becomes the standard plan for the *jagamohana*. There are only a few surviving examples from the early phase of temple construction in which the *pīḍha* order was employed for the *deul*, including the Nīlakantheśvara temple on top of the Jogamunda hill at Padmapur in Koraput district and the Caṇḍī temple at Śikharacaṇḍī (Paṭia) near Bhubaneswar,²⁶ though this order is employed again in the latter part of the Gaṅga period and later and was frequently used to replace the crumbling *gaṇḍī* (*śikhara*) of earlier temples as at Sadansa. The earliest surviving *jagamohanas* are rectangular in shape and have a sloping terraced-roof, flat on top, an order not mentioned in the architectural texts. While the *rekḥā* and *pīḍha* orders are employed for structures of all religious sects, including the Śākta, the *khāḥarā* order was employed for temples dedicated only to Śakti worship.

Architecturally the *rekḥā* and *pīḍha*, or *deul* and *jagamohana* on the typical mature Orissan plan, can be divided into three principal parts along the vertical plane above the *pīṭha* (platform), the latter standard only on later temples, i.e., the *bāḍa* (perpendicular wall), *gaṇḍī* (curvilinear spire or pyramidal roof) and the *mastaka* (crowning elements). The *bāḍa* is divided into three main components—the *pābhāga* (base mouldings), *jāṅgha* (vertical portion or wall) and *baraṇḍa* (set of upper mouldings demarcating the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍī*)—though on later temples, beginning in the 10th-11th centuries, the *jāṅgha* is subdivided into upper and lower stories by a *madhya-bandhanā* or stringcourse. The surface of the *bāḍa* is further demarcated by projecting piers, or *pāgas* (*rathas*), which run vertically up the structure. On the early temples there are three such *pāgas* on each wall with the larger center *pāga*, or *rāhā*, running continuously up the height of the *deul* whereas the flanking subsidiary *pāgas* terminate beneath the *baraṇḍa*. This *tri-ratha* plan is standard on early temples. In the course of evolution the general trend is towards elaboration and this *tri-ratha* plan slowly evolves into a *pañca-ratha* design with the subsidiary *pāgas* likewise running continuously up the height of the *deul*. The corner *pāga* is called *kanika* whereas the intermediary *pāga* is known as the *anartha*. The recesses between these projecting *pāgas*, generally called *anurāhā*, are likewise filled with decoration. In the 12th century this *pañca-ratha* plan is frequently superseded by a *sapta-ratha* design with the addition of a thin *pratiratha*. In two cases the design approximates a *nava-ratha* plan with two *pratirathas*. This elaboration also takes place in the *pābhāga*, where the number of mouldings is increased from three to five, and in the *baraṇḍa* where the number of mouldings is greatly increased, in some cases to ten. The *bāḍa* of the *jagamohana* is similarly decorated though the center *pāga*, known as the *gavākṣa*, becomes more pronounced and completely dominates the decorative program. Elaboration is also noticeable in the *anurāhā* recesses of the *jagamohana* which are frequently *tri-ratha* in design.

It is in the *gaṇḍī* that these two orders assume their individual peculiarities. In the *rekḥā-deul* the *gaṇḍī* assumes the shape of a curvilinear spire. In the earliest temples the silhouette of this spire is rather squat and truncated whereas in later temples, much greater in height, the

²⁶ Both temples are small, consisting of a *deul* only, and can be dated to the 7th-8th centuries though the Caṇḍī temple has recently been rebuilt.

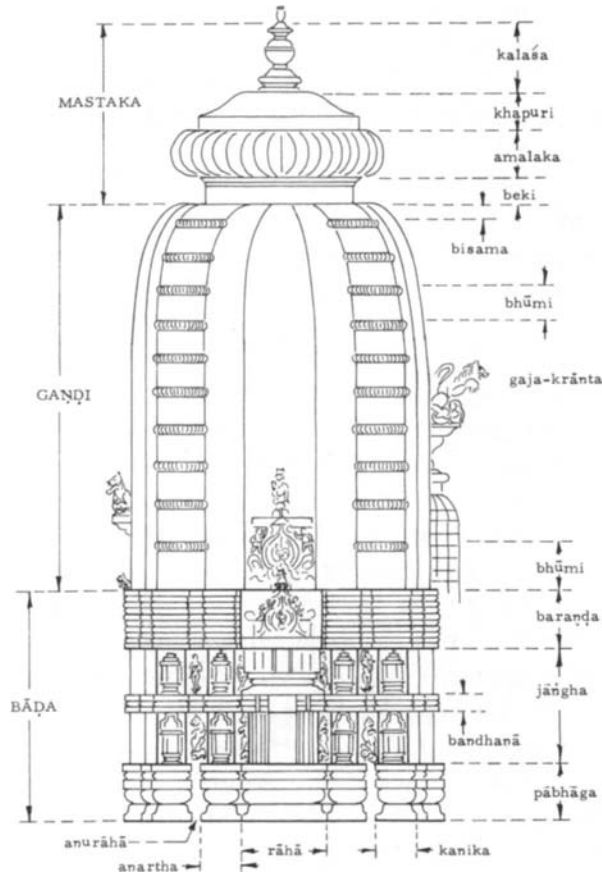
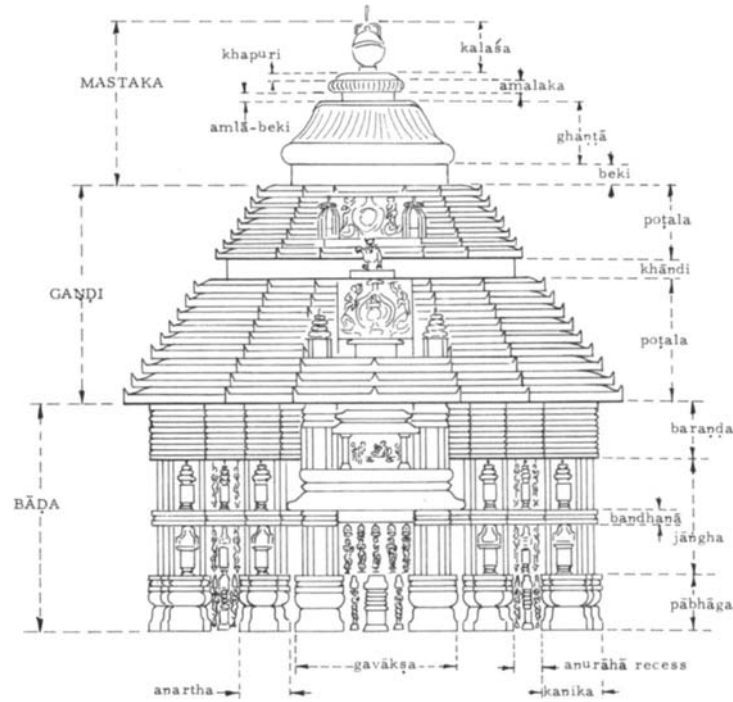


Diagram of the Principal Elements of the *Rekhā-Deul*

silhouette curves in rapidly at the top to produce a more soaring effect. Even on the earliest extant Orissan temple the decorative program of the *ganḍi* evinces a mature conception being *pañca-ratha* in design in contrast to the *tri-ratha* design of the *bāḍa*. Only the center or *rāhā* is a vertical extension of the lower design, the *kanika* and *anartha* begin above the *baranḍa* and are completely independent in alignment from the subsidiary *pāgas* of the *bāḍa*. It is not until the development of a full-fledged *pañca-ratha* design for the *bāḍa*, in the 10th century, that the *pāgas* of these two architectural components are harmoniously aligned. The recessed chase or *anurāhā* separating the *kanika* from the *anartha* is even decorated on these earliest temples, being filled with superimposed miniature shrines. The *kanika* is subdivided vertically into five *bhūmis* (tiers or stories) by *bhūmi-amlās* or ribbed discs with each *bhūmi* further subdivided into four *bhūmi-baranḍis* (horizontal mouldings) in addition to the ribbed *amlā*. The upper two *baranḍis* are thin and joined together at the center by a *caitya*-medallion. The *anartha*, on the other hand, consists of horizontal mouldings of equal size superimposed one above the other continuously up to the *bisama*. The *bisama* is the topmost course which seals the spire and may or may not partake of the *pāga* divisions. The number of *bhūmis* on later temples is increased first to seven and eventually to ten along with the increased height of the structure. The *rāhā* is divided into horizontal divisions like the *anartha* but additionally has at the base a projecting *vajra-mastaka* motif which partially

Diagram of the Principal Elements of the *Pīḍha-Deul*

obfuscates these horizontal divisions. The *mastaka* of the *rekḥā-deul* consists of a *beki* (recessed cylindrical portion above the *bisama*), an *amalaka* (large ribbed disc flattened in appearance), *khapuri* (flat bell-shaped member) and surmounting *kalaśa* or water jar on which is placed the *āyudha* (sacred weapon) of the presiding deity of the temple. On many of these early temples the *kalaśa* is replaced by an *ākāśaliṅga* finial which serves as the crowning member.²⁷

The *gaṇḍi* of the *pīḍha-deul* consists of a number of *pīḍha*-mouldings (projecting member with downward curving edge) diminishing in a pyramidal shape with the *pīḍhas* of later temples generally grouped into tiers (*poṭalas*) separated from one another by a recessed vertical wall or *khāndi*. *Vajra-mastaka* motifs crowned by an *udyatā* lion are generally placed above the *gavākṣa* projections on the north and south sides and over the entrance portal on later temples. The *mastaka* of the fully-fledged *pīḍha-deul* consists of a *beki*, *ghanṭā* (large bell-shaped member), a second *beki*, *amalaka*, *khapuri*, *kalaśa* and *āyudha*.

In contrast to the square plan of the *rekḥā* and mature *pīḍha*, the *khākharā* is invariably oblong in plan with one of the longer sides having a door which faces the deity placed against the opposite wall. The oblong shape of the *deul*, no doubt, was dictated by the type, or number, of deities to be installed within the sanctum. Of the three varieties of *khākharā* temples described in the *Bhuvanapradīpa* the Valabhī type, characterized by a semi-cylindrical roof resting on a framework of rafters, is oblong in plan and, as we know from the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (chapter LXXXVI),²⁸ is designed to contain either a group of deities

²⁷ See M. A. Dhaky, "The 'Ākāśaliṅga' Finial," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXVI (1974), 307-315.

²⁸ *Viṣṇudharmottara Purana*, ed. Priyabala Shah, I (Baroda; 1953), pp. 231-232.

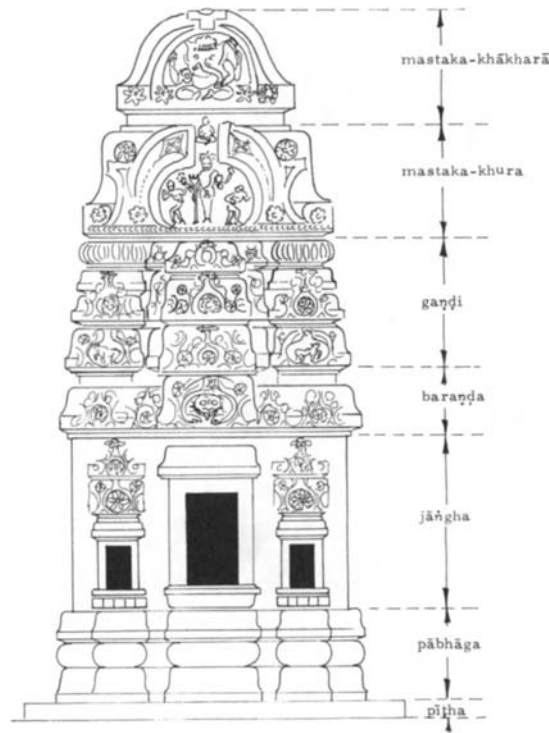


Diagram of the Principal Elements of the *Khākharā-Deul*
(based on a drawing made of the Durgā Temple at
Baideswar by Kittoe in A.D. 1838)

or singly a Durgā, Lakṣmī or reclining Viṣṇu. In contrast to other areas of India, *khākharā* temples in Orissa, as mentioned, are dedicated only to some form or other of *Śakti*, the female aspect of the godhead, suggesting that the temples of this order in Orissa belonged to the Śākta cult. The most distinguishing feature of this type of temple is its barrel-vaulted elongated roof which faintly resembles a variety of pumpkin known as *kakhāru* in Oriya. The form of roof, as Debala Mitra has suggested, is a modified survival of primitive halls with a semi-cylindrical roof resting on a framework of timber or bent split bamboo, a popular type of structure appearing in many early sculpture reliefs throughout India, rather than being of South Indian inspiration.²⁹

The dark interior of the square cella of the sanctum is generally small, due to the thickness of the walls, and is devoid of decoration. The hollow interior above the cella (*garbha-grha*) is in the shape of a pyramid tapering upwards to form a solid block at the top, though this space is hidden by a ceiling (*garbhāmuda*) consisting of lithic beams and rafters which reinforce the stability of the structure by tying the walls together. The number of such ceilings increases on later temples in keeping with the increased height of the *deul*.³⁰ A corbelled arch is provided over the lintel to help reduce the load on this slab. This arch is

²⁹ Debala Mitra, "Four Little-Known Khākharā Temples of Orissa," *JASB*, II (1960), pp. 1-3.
See also Part II of this study, chapter IX.

³⁰ D. Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, p. 18.

generally covered up by the projecting *vajra-mastaka* of the *rāhā* but is visible on the Lakṣmaṇeśvara and Bharateśvara temples at Bhubaneswar, where only the core of the spire remains, as well as at Gandharādī.

The interior of the *pīḍha-deul* (*jagamohana*) is likewise plain on most temples and is covered by a corbelled ceiling. In the largest temples four pillars, forming a square in the center of the floor, were often added to help support the massive weight of the roof while huge iron beams were utilized to give added support to the architraves. Of the few ceilings which were decorated the most beautiful is that of the Mukteśvara which is cusped and coffered with images of the *Saptamātrikās* carved in a center lotus medallion. In other temples, such as the Brahmeśvara at Bhubaneswar, the Jāleśvara temple at Kālarahaṅga, the Cāteśvara temple at Kisenpur and the Gaṅgeśvarī temple at Beyālisbāṭi the ceiling is shaped like an inverted full-blown lotus. A large lotus-medallion found at Koṇārak also suggests that the ceiling of the *nāṭa-mandira* of the Sūrya Deul was similarly decorated.

In the mature Orissan temple both the *rekḥā* and *pīḍha* orders are thus employed, the *rekḥā* for the *deul*, consisting of a square sanctum surmounted by a curvilinear spire, and the *pīḍha* for the *jagamohana* or frontal hall, consisting of a square astylar structure covered by a pyramidal roof of receding steps. The balance of these two contrasting superstructures, of a low *pīḍha-deul* subordinate to the higher *rekḥā-deul*, is peculiar to Orissa and greatly enhances the grandeur of the soaring curvilinear spire or *ganḍi* (*śikhara*), even when modest in size. This contrasts with other regional variations of the Nāgara (northern) style where the superstructures of the *maṇḍapas* (frontal halls) prepare and defer the climax of the spire surmounting the sanctum. Even in areas where the spire is closely related to the Orissan type, as at Osia in Rajasthan as Stella Kramrisch points out, the logic of the temple complex is lost as open pillared halls, which serve as an airy prelude, detract from the grandeur of the closed mass achieved in the Orissan temple.³¹

C) DECORATIVE PROGRAM

One of the most distinctive features of the Orissan temple, as has been noted by Kramrisch, is the overall clarity of the total design in plan and elevation. Each individual architectural unit is clearly defined as a self-containing element in the overall decorative program. Each sculptural image is well contained within its pillar boundaries, adhering closely to the surface, "each panel to its place, each image to its ground."³² The *pāgas* which project from the exterior walls are generally designed as miniature shrines (*muṇḍis*) or replicas of the temple itself complete with niche and superstructure. These *muṇḍis* function as ornament to beautify the structure and at the same time act as a frame to house or exhibit numerous sculptures of the various gods and goddesses. Their niches, offsets and recesses cast shadows which interact with the rounded contours of figure sculpture and the metallic precision of scrollwork to produce an enmeshed framework of light and dark accents. As miniature replicas they perpetuate the image of the temple, both the terrestrial dwelling place of the deity and literally a design of the cosmos, while their niches serve as windows or exits through which the divinity of the enshrined deity shines forth.³³ The

³¹ Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, I (Calcutta, 1946), p. 217.

³² Stella Kramrisch, "The Walls of Orissan Temples", *JISOA*, XV (1947), pp. 186-194.

³³ Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, p. 304.

decorative motifs, in addition to beautifying the structure, serve symbolically as auspicious images to protect the temple from real or imagined evils. None of the carvings, in fact, is merely decorative, each “has its meaning at its proper place and is an image or symbol.”³⁴

There are four basic types of *munḍis* carved on the temple walls, the crowning *vimānikā* above the niche determining its order, three of which are replicas of the major architectural orders—the *rekḥā*, *pīḍha* and *khākharā*. The fourth type, which is most popular on the earliest temples, is the *vajra-munḍi* whose crowning elements consist of a miniature *vajra-mastaka* of two superimposed *caitya* motifs with diminutive figures generally flanking the smaller upper *caitya*-medallion. On these early temples the subsidiary *pāgas* are designed as *vajra-munḍis* which terminate beneath the *baraṇḍa*. Smaller *vajra-munḍis* appear on the *ganḍi* where they are superimposed one above the other in the *anurāḥā* recesses. The *bāḍa* portion of the *rāḥā*, on the other hand, is designed as a miniature *rekḥā-deul* truncated above the first *bhūmi*. The *rāḥā* division continues up the height of the *ganḍi*, however, so that the large *vajra-mastaka* immediately above the *baraṇḍa* serves visually as the crowning member of the *bāḍa* design thus transforming it into a *vajra-munḍi*.³⁵ On two temples, the Vaitāl Deul at Bhubaneswar and the Madhukeśvara at Mukhalingam, datable on stylistic grounds to the 8th and 9th centuries respectively, there is a small *rekḥā-deul* on each of the four corners of the *jagamohana*.

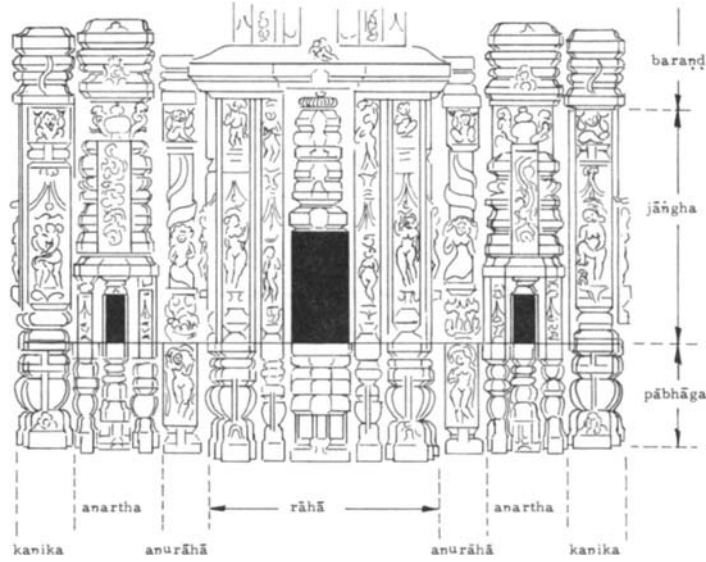
Gradually, as the decorative program evolves, the *vimānikā* or crowning members of the *vajra-munḍi* design of the subsidiary *pāgas* become elongated, by the addition of horizontal mouldings, and are eventually transformed into *khākharā-munḍis*. The *vajra-mastaka* motif is frequently retained, however, and is either superimposed over the horizontal mouldings of an elongated *khākharā-munḍi* or serves as its crowning member, though greatly reduced in size. In many cases, particularly during a transitional period, it is difficult to classify the *pāga* design as either a *vajra-munḍi* or a *khākharā-munḍi*.

With the development of a two-story plan for the *jāṅgha* the *khākharā-munḍi* becomes the standard design for the lower story of the subsidiary *pāgas* while the *pīḍha-munḍi* becomes standard for the upper story. During a transitional period, covering the late 11th and early 12th centuries, there are numerous experimentations with the placement of these *munḍi* designs. On the Jāleśvara temple at Kālarahaṅga, for example, three different designs are employed. The lower-story *pāgas* are alternately carved with *khākharā*- and *pīḍha-munḍis* while the upper-story is decorated with *vajra-munḍis*. On the Khileśvara temple at Khilor *khākharā-munḍis* are employed on both stories of the *jāṅgha* while on the Cāṭeśvara temple at Kisenpur only the niches are designed as *munḍis*, the *pāgas* being conceived as pilasters.

In the two-story plan of the *jāṅgha* the *rāḥā* design is transformed into a *pīḍha-munḍi* by two large *pīḍha*-eaves which project out above the large niche of the lower story. In the 11th century miniature *rekḥā-deuls*, or *aṅga-sikharas*, are introduced as a decorative feature on the *ganḍi*. In the earliest examples, as on the Rājarāṇī temple, they appear as exotic elements which disrupt the upward thrust of the silhouette of the *ganḍi*, appearing like turrets. They

³⁴ Kramrisch, *JISOA*, XV, p. 180.

³⁵ This *vajra-munḍi* design of the *rāḥā* and entrance portal can also be viewed as a *torana* projecting out from the temple walls, particularly on these early temples where the niches cut through the *pābhāga* mouldings simulating doorways. This *torana* design is also evident on the north and south *rāḥās* of the Vaitāl Deul where the *vajra-mastaka* on the *ganḍi* is supported (visually) by pilasters which frame the *rāḥā*. On the later Birañci Nārāyaṇa temple at Pālīā the *rāḥās* are turned into doors crowned by a *torana* while at Koṇārak and Beyālisbāṭi *toranas* frame the *rāḥās* and entrance portals of the *jagamohana*.



Bāḍa Decoration of a Pañca-Ratha Design (west side of the Gaurī Temple)

are rapidly synthesized with the Orissan decorative program, however, and are flattened-out and confined within the *pāga* divisions, aligned in a horizontal row at the base of the *ganḍi* or superimposed one above the other in diminishing size up the height of the *anartha*.

The niche of the *rāhā* of the Orissan temple houses a *pārśva-devatā*, a deity connected in doctrine with the main divinity of the temple.³⁶ On the early temples, dedicated mainly to Śiva, the deities would be Gaṇeśa on the south, Kārttikeya on the west or back and either Pārvatī or Mahiṣamardinī on the north. On Vaiṣṇava shrines the *pārśva-devatās* are usually Varāha, Nṛsiṃha and Trivikrama, three of the ten *avatars* of Viṣṇu while on Śākta temples there are generally housed three different forms of the enshrined deity. This iconographic program is quite consistent throughout the long history of temple construction in Orissa.

The iconographic program of images housed in the niches of the subsidiary *pāgas*, on the other hand, varies from period to period and evinces more regional manifestations. In the earliest temples, *tri-ratha* in plan, the niches generally house various aspects of Śiva or images of related Brahmanic deities while on Śākta shrines these niches are filled with *alasā-kanyās* or *mithunas*. With the development of a full-fledged *pañca-ratha* plan, beginning in the 10th century, *alasā-kanyās* carved in high-relief become popular on the *kanika* or corner *pāga* which is designed as a pilaster. The introduction of an *ūrdhva-garbhikā* in the upper part of the niche, popular during the 10th century, reduces the size of the image enshrined within these niches.³⁷

With the development of a two-story *jāṅgha* in the 11th century *dikpālas* make their initial appearance in their respective locations on the *kanikas* of the lower *jāṅgha* where they

³⁶ In a few examples, such as on the 8th-9th century temple in the Bhavānī Śāṅkara compound, the *rāhā* niches were filled with images of Hara-Pārvatī. The existence of three almost identical Hara-Pārvatī images now affixed to a modern Hanumān shrine in the Gaurī compound and on a modern brick structure at Kaupur suggest that they may likewise have served as *pārśva-devatās*.

³⁷ Almost all of these niches of the 10th century are now empty, except for a few on the Pañca-Pāṇḍava temple at Gaṇeśwarpur, a Vaiṣṇava shrine, so that the original iconographic program is generally unknown.

remain as standard decoration on most later temples.³⁸ Also introduced at this time are *virāla* motifs in the *anurābhā* recess of the lower *jāṅgha*, replacing the *nāga-stambhas* popular in the 10th century, and *alasā-kanyās* and *mithunas* in the same recess of the upper *jāṅgha*, iconographic features which become standard on all later temples and gradually increase in size to become the largest figure motifs on the *jāṅgha* outside of the *pārśva-devatās*. *Alasā-kanyā* and *mithunas* also become popular decorative motifs filling the *anartha* niches of the lower story and both *pāga* niches of the upper story. For a brief period in the late 11th and the 12th centuries, however, these niches are generally filled with various Brahmanic deities or newly introduced motifs such as the *śiṣṣādāna* in which a *guru* is depicted dispensing instructions to disciples.

With the introduction of the *śaktis* of the *dikpālas* in the mid-12th century, occupying the upper *kanika* niches above their male counterparts where they become standard decoration, the Brahmanic deities gradually disappear from the decorative program. On later temples the niches of the *anartha* and *pratiratha* are usually filled with *alasā-kanyā*, *mithuna*/*maithuna* or *śiṣṣādāna* motifs rather than deities. In the temples of the 14th century and later, by which time the creative force of the Orissan artist becomes rapidly exhausted, the niches of the *muṇḍis* of the subsidiary *pāgas* were never completed so that the only sculptures appearing on the *jāṅgha*, excluding the *pārśva-devatās*, are the *virāla* motifs in the *anurābhā* recesses of the lower story and the *mithuna*/*maithuna* or *alasā-kanyā* motifs in the same recesses of the upper story.

D) FORMAT ADOPTED FOR THIS STUDY

In that the Orissan temples are primarily astylar, the tower and frontal hall generally consisting of four equal sides with a corbelled ceiling diminishing in size, and with the interiors of the structures dark and normally undecorated, emphasis in this monograph is placed on the exterior decorative program rather than on architectural problems concerning stress or support. The dimensions, except where noted, are thus of the exterior decorative program, from *kanika* to *kanika* on each wall, rather than on the total space encompassed by each structure on a projected square from entrance portal to the *rābhā* projection, so that my measurements will differ slightly from those frequently found in other publications. In general all of the constituent elements of the decorative program are interrelated, i.e., there is no single part that has not a direct connection or correspondence with all other parts. For the most part the construction of the temples appears to be based on one fundamental measurement, as outlined in the *Śilpasāriṇī* (an unpublished Orissan treatise dealing exclusively with the technicalities of temple architecture),—the *mūlasūtra* or *mūlabhāga*, according to which all parts of the structure have to be drawn. According to the *Śilpasāriṇī* there are three kinds of *mūlasūtras*: the highest, based on the height of the temple; the midling, based on the *muṣṭi* (cubit taken of the fist) of the *sūtradhāra* or the *yajamāna*; and the lowest, based on the plinth of the temple.³⁹

Though the grids and diagrams outlined in the architectural manuals relate to many of the later temples, they appear to have little correlation to the earliest temples, particularly

³⁸ In some of the *sapta-ratha* temples the *dikpālas* actually occupy niches on the *anartha* rather than the *kanika*.

³⁹ Alice Boner, "Extracts from the *Śilpasāriṇī*", *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. by Pramod Chandra (Benares: 1975), pp. 57-58.

20 LARGEST EXTANT TEMPLES BASED ON GROUNDPLAN

1. Jagannātha*	960 inches	11. Bañkāḍa	270 inches
2. Sūrya Deul**	792 inches	12. Viṣṇupur	270 inches
3. Liṅgarāja**	624 inches	13. Tangi	264 inches
4. Mahāgāyatrī	338 inches	14. Rameśvara	258 inches
5. Śukleśvara	333 inches	15. Kisenpur	252 inches
6. Madhukeśvara	324 inches	16. Khilor	246 inches
7. Pārvatī	312 inches	17. Yameśvara	242 inches
8. Kualo	304 inches	18. Śāri Deul	242 inches
9. Bhaskareśvara	276 inches	19. Niali	240 inches
10. Garuḍipañcana	276 inches	20. Indralath	240 inches

20 LARGEST TEMPLES BASED ON THE HEIGHT OF THE JĀNGHA

	<i>jāṅgha</i>	<i>pābhāga</i>	<i>rāhā</i> niche
1. Jagannātha	?	?	
2. Sūrya Deul	?	166 inches	142 inches
3. Liṅgarāja	264 inches	122 inches	112 inches
4. Mahāgāyatrī	?	82 inches	75 inches
5. Śukleśvara	?	75 inches	?
6. Madhukeśvara			
7. Kualo	144 inches	58 inches	68 inches
8. Indralath	136 inches	69 inches	42 inches
9. Tangi	128 inches	66 inches	61 inches
10. Khilor	126 inches	56 inches	57 inches
11. Rameśvara	123 inches	62 inches	58 inches
12. Bhaskareśvara	122 inches	64 inches	61 inches
13. Garuḍipañcana	121 inches	62 inches	71 inches
14. Rājarāṇī	119 inches	58 inches	56 inches
15. Brahmeśvara	112 inches	56 inches	58 inches
16. Kedareśvara	111 inches	55 inches	56 inches
17. Niali	107 inches	54 inches	56 inches
18. Banpur	101 inches	52 inches	51 inches
19. Yameśvara	100 inches	50 inches	52 inches
20. Kisenpur	99 inches	51 inches	33 inches

* Dimensions as given by Rajendralala Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, II (New Delhi, 1961 reprint), p. 194.

** Dimensions as given by Deva Prasad Ghosh, N. K. Bose and Y. Sharma, *Designs from Orissan Temples* (Calcutta, 1950).

in respect to elevation. In actual practice the most favored *mūlasūtra* appears to be the lowest kind outlined in the *Śilpasārīṇī*: that based on the height of the plinth (actually the *pābhāga* on early temples), though its height may be determined by the *muṣṭi* of the *sthapati*. There are, in fact, no two temples which have the exact same measurements. There is, however, consistency in laws of proportion evident in all of the temples. As a general rule-of-thumb, though with numerous exceptions, the *jāṅgha* is approximately twice the height of the *pābhāga* while the *rāhā* niche is of the same approximate height. Thus, if only the *pābhāga* of a temple has survived, from any of the various periods of architectural activity, the approximate height of the *bāḍa* can be determined, excluding the *baraṇḍa*. The height of the *ganḍi*, on the other hand, cannot be so easily determined due to the gradual increase in

height of this part on later temples, the number of *bhūmis* increasing from five to seven and eventually ten. The *pābhāga* on the Brahmeśvara temple, for example, is only 6 inches higher than that on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple yet its *gaṇḍi* is approximately 20 feet higher even though the base of the *deul* for both temples is about the same size. Once the number of *bhūmis* becomes standardized at ten, the height of the *gaṇḍi* can no doubt be determined, to a certain degree of accuracy, by the height of the *pābhāga*. The actual height of the *gaṇḍi* is difficult to determine with exactitude, however, as on-the-spot measurement is usually impossible.

In developing a chronological evolution and stylistic analysis of the Orissan temple and its decorative program I have divided the monograph into two parts. I have deliberately refrained from separating the study into sections on architecture and sculpture along strict lines, however, as these two disciplines are intimately interrelated: in fact, as Kramrisch has noted, “nowhere else in India are the walls of the temple as intimately connected with their sculpture.”⁴⁰ In Part I the temples are treated individually in a broad chronological and regional sequence with a brief historical introduction at the beginning of each chapter. A select number of sculptures are included with each temple for the purpose of stylistic analysis, the cult deities generally being the *dikpālas*. In Part II the stylistic evolution and changing iconographic program of select individual features, motifs and sculptures are analyzed, emphasizing continuity and change as well as regional variations and external influences filtering into Orissa. Groundplans are at the top of the *pābhāga* so that *anurāhā* recesses, which do not extend through these mouldings on later temples, are included. Except where indicated, north is at the top of each page.

⁴⁰ Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, p. 216.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF ORISSAN TEMPLES I

<i>Date</i>	<i>Bhubaneswar</i>	<i>Outside Bhubaneswar</i>	<i>Upper Mahānadī Valley</i>
c. 575	Lakṣmaṇeśvara group		Tala
c. 600	Svarṇajāleśvara	Jāipur: detached images	
c. 650	Paraśurāmeśvara	Padmapur: Nīlakantheśvara	
	Paścimeśvara		Sirpur
c. 700	Uttareśvara		Kharod: Indal Deul
	Mohinī		Palāri
	Tāleśvara	Ratnagiri: doorframes	
c. 750	Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara	Jāipur: detached images	
	Śiśireśvara		Rājim: Rājīvalocana
	Vaitāl Deul	Bajrakot/Baideswar	Kharod: Śabarī
	Bhavānī-Śaṅkara		Dhamtarī
c. 800		{ Kualo/Baṅkāḍa/Punjiyama	Narsinghnath: interior pillars
		Benusāgar	Pūjāripali
		Badgaon	
		Śukleśvara/Madhukeśvara	Dhobini
c. 850		Khanderpur/Kupāri	Budhikomna
		Śimhanātha	Rāṇipur-Jhariāl: Someśvara
		Padmapur	Kausuli
		Paikapāḍa/Shergarh	Baidyanath, Patnagarh: Kosalēśvara temples
c. 900		Gaṇeśwarpur/Caurāsi	Gandharāḍī/Charda
	Vyomakeśvara	Hirapur: 64 Yoginī pīṭha/ Ratnagiri	Rāṇipur-Jhariāl: brick temple
	Tīrtheśvara	Mukhalīngam: Someśvara	Baudh
			Rāṇipur-Jhariāl: 64 Yoginī pīṭha
	Gaurī	Sarapalli/Jayati	Khiching: Kutāituṇḍi
c. 950	Mukteśvara	Jāipur, Puri Mātṛkās	Narsinghnath, Saintala doorframes
		Kuṇḍeśvara/Sathalapura	Baidyanath: Kāleśvara
		Peḍāgaḍi/Kaupur	

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF ORISSAN TEMPLES II

<i>Date</i>	<i>Bhubaneswar</i>	<i>Outside Bhubaneswar</i>
c. 1000	Dākrā-Bhīmeśvara Rājarāṇī Ekāmbareśvara Maṇibhadreśvara	Khiching Pratāprudrapur
c. 1060	Brahmeśvara Liṅgarāja Valukeśvara	Lataharaṇa/Kuṇḍeśvara Ghorodia/Algum/Maṇināgeśvara/Kakaṭpur: Someśvara Bhillideuli/Khillor/Beraboi/Golobai
c. 1100	Koṭitīrtheśvara/Siddheśvara	Kālarahaṅga/Champeswar/Chaudar
c. 1125	Kedāreśvara/Rāmeśvara Bhāskareśvara	Dharmaśālā Puri: Jagannātha
c. 1150		Koṇārak: Māhāgāyatrī Tangi
c. 1180	Megheśvara	Niali
c. 1220	Pārvatī	Kisenpur Mādhava Garuḍipaṇcana Koṇārak: Sūrya Deul Beyālisbāṭi/Vateśvara
c. 1275	Yameśvara/Citrakāriṇī Ananta-Vāsudeva/Śāri Deul	Banpur: Dakṣaprajāpati/Kakudiā/Gaṇeśwarpur Budhapāda/Sadansa/Pracī river temples
c. 1300	Varuṇeśvara Bakeśvara/Mitreśvara Makareśvara	Bīrpratāppur/Kālupaḍa/Mahāviṇāyaka Puri: Nṛsiṃha temple/Daraba/Parahat
c. 1350		Kapilās Hill/Kosaleśvara Viṣṇupur Sonepur
c. 1400	Pāpanāśinī Kapileśvara	Māntri