The Hegemony of Heritage
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INTRODUCTION

1. Whitney Davis offers art historians the unique possibilities afforded by a Gellian model of object agency:

   In some cases, a simplistic model of patronage as the social context of art has led to obvious historical and interpretive distortions—to neglect of the role of the artist’s agency in destabilizing or undermining the legitimist agendas of patrons, of the role of the viewer’s abduction of alternate or proliferated agencies of the work of art in constituting a concept of who or what patrons and artists might be, of the abducted agency of artistic raw materials or of art’s artifactual materiality in constituting viewers’ inferences about the properties that require or solicit such causal understandings—and so on. So far as I know, Gell’s model offers the most comprehensive account of the “open range and indefinite recursion of the agencies of art that have been, and equally important should be, considered by anthropologists or historians as anthropology or the history of art. (Whitney Davis, “Abducting the Agency of Art,” in Art’s Agency and Art History, ed. Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner [Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Online Library, 2008], 199–219, 214, https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470776629.ch9)


3. This asymptote of “value” is reflected in a burst of anthologies on heritage and Getty Institute themes in the years between my initial fieldwork and completion of this book.

4. Eschewing grand singular narratives of historiography is the cornerstone of offering new postcolonial insights into Indian history. The risks of historiography as a colonial enterprise are all too clear in the concluding paragraph of Guha’s introduction, where he writes: “All of Indian Historiography in its dominant, that is, liberal-nationalist mode, has
been caught up since its inception in the contradictory pulls of such affinity and opposition. It is therefore not possible either to understand its character or to subject it to a proper criticism without situating it first in the relationship that bonds it to colonialism—a dominance without hegemony—and its historiography. A critique of colonialist historiography is, therefore, an essential condition and a necessary point of departure for any critique of Indian historiography itself.” Guha further elaborates that historiography in a nationalist mode involves rewriting that is “elitist and abstract. It is elitist insofar as it feeds on that messianic tendency of nationalist discourse according to which mobilization was the handiwork of prophets, patriarchs, and other inspirational leaders alone and the mobilized were no more than an inert mass shaped by a superior will. It is abstract, too, because it empties mobilization of that very real tension between foresee and consent from which Indian nationalism acquired its form and substance” (Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997], 99, 103).


10. Gianni Vattimo describes the increased production of residue that characterizes our era. He urges that aesthetic value may well be defined as the “trace” itself:
It may well be that in the end what is termed as beautiful is simply what is “historical” in a pregnant sense: monument, that is. (Natural beauty would fit perfectly in this perspective as the monument of a still remoter past.) But is it the proliferation of traces, in which we are confronted by the acceleration of productive processes insofar as they leave behind more and more “documents” and residues, also a proliferation of monuments? Or at least, does it specifically qualify our culture as a culture of memory? For instance, may we consider essential and decisive the discovery, if it is such, that we believed to be aesthetic value is nothing but, or not more than, trace?

(Gianni Vattimo, “Postmodernity and the New Monumentality,” RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics 28 [Autumn 1995]: 40–41)


12. Agrawala proclaims, “This tenth century edifice, dedicated to goddess Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini, was first discovered by me on 22nd May 1956.” R. C. Agrawala, “Kahjuraho of Rājāsthan,” Arts Asiatiques 10, no. 1 (1964): 47.

13. Ibid., 51.

14. Darielle Mason rightly laments that her analysis is impeded by the condition of the Pippalāda Mātā temple.


19. See R. V. Somani, History of Rājāsthan (Jaipur: Jain Pustuk Mandir, 1997), 86.


23. The most famous example of this phenomenon in India is the destruction of the Babri Masjid mosque in Ayodhyā, on December 6, 1992. According to Basu and Subrahmanyan, history has often been misused to create violence. See Kaushik Basu and Sanjay Subrahmanyan, eds., Unraveling the Nation: Sectarian Conflict and India’s Secular Identity (New Delhi: Penguin, 1996), 5. Their edited volume situates the communal violence of Ayodhyā within a specific historical moment. See also Sanjay Subrahmanyan, “The Mughal State—Structure or Process? Reflections on Recent Western Historiography,” Indian Economic and Social History Review 29, no. 3 (1992): 291–321, https://doi.org/10.1177/001946469202900302.

25. Ibid., 2.

26. For a functionalist description of the colonial era dialectic between ethnography and history, see Guha, who carefully outlines the role of fear of the unknown in ethnography and history as the colonial answer to a population unwilling to divulge information to the colonial ethnographer. Historically, the role of colonial ethnography was “to aid a foreign power forcibly to exploit the resources of our land” (Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*, 162–64). Modern ethnography in relation to art history provides an important human counterbalance to the taxonomical and positivist collection of architectural objects historically rendered through formalism as an end in itself. Though some may view ethnography as inherently colonial or racist, ethnography also allows places of worship to come alive as lived spaces through the documentation of a wide range of praxis in situ. A diachronic approach attempts this political engagement with history and the present to celebrate the visual and performative field surrounding Hindu temples in the broadest context possible, by writing people back into the monuments they use in their lives.


30. Guha further elaborates: “that, of course, is no problem for the bourgeoisie, who constitute themselves into a class precisely by turning time into that ultimate and most generalized form of the thing, money—the thing which, under the rule of that class, becomes the measure and symbol of all other things”—an interesting take on “appropriation” in the era of temple as market, or commodity. Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*, 194.

31. Tryna Lyons, “The Changing Faces of Eklingji: A Dynastic Shrine and Its Artists,” *Artibus Asiae* 58, no. 3/4 (1999): 270. Lyons brings together an impressive variety of evidence—inscriptional, visual, ethnographic, and more—to convincingly argue the main icon was made after the Malwa sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq Shah I (r. 1320–25) destroyed the previous icon. She argues that the current icon dates to Raimal’s era and may have been based on a four-faced liṅgaṃ from Hammīr’s reign in the fourteenth century. Hammir’s icon, she argues in turn, may have been modeled on the four-faced liṅgaṃ at Ahar (see fig. 5.4, in chapter 5).

32. I heard the story of the mūrti from Pundit Narendra Dashora (personal communication, Oct. 4, 2002), with whom I was staying. The story is the same as when Sohan Lal (a regular Monday worshipper from Udaipur) told it, except with greater detail. In the thirteenth century the Muslims attacked, so the mahārāṇa put the mūrti in the lake for protection. An army of honeybees attacked the Muslim army and fought them off. The mūrti in the lake had gone to heaven. So the king fasted, and after three days the vision came that there was a new mūrti buried under the hill near Arthuna in the district of Dūṅgarpur (ancient Vagada). They went and, sure enough, it was there, but the Dūṅgarpur king did not want
it to leave the state. So they decided to use Dūṅgarpur bulls and a Mewāri cart to take the image to its rightful place. The bulls took it to Ekliṅgī. Before this mūrti (black schist, five-faced), the old one was from a thousand-headed lingām like the one at Chandrāvatī. Behind the Kālíkā temple in the Śri Ekliṅgī temple compound is a thousand-headed Lakulīśa linga. Śri Dashora will worship it tomorrow morning at 4am. There are four priests who take turns performing this secret ritual.


34. When describing the fieldwork logistics of a ritual that was supposed to take place in 1974 and finally came to fruition in 1975, Staal outlines the expenses he incurred. Through Staal the Smithsonian was made a patron of the Vedic fire sacrifice, spending $12,740 for the construction of the enclosure and for ritual performance, as well as $3,381 for the feeding of guests. See Frits Staal, Agni Hotra: The Vedic Ritual of Fire, vol. 2 (Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 459, 463.


37. Jacques Derrida suggests the archive is a form of amnesia: “There is no archive without a place of consignation, without a technique of repetition, and without a certain exteriority. No archive without outside.” Jacques Derrida, Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 11. The exteriorization of memory allows it to be stored somewhere other than in someone’s mind, thus allowing her or him to forget, and distancing the specificity and resolution of the memory from its maker. The photographic reproduction required for the archive erodes the agency of a temple’s creators and erases all but one of the temple’s lives, the incarnation of a singular time and place.


CHAPTER 1. TEMPLE AS GEOGRAPHIC MARKER


7. Vishwambhar Sharan Pathak has proposed that the Pāśupata cult was founded by Śri Kantha, since there are many early references to this form of Śaivism that do not mention Lakulīśa. He suggests that Lakulīśa was the founder of a later sect of Pāśupatas. See Vishwambhar Sharan Pathak, History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India, from Inscriptions 700 AD to 1200 AD (Allahabad: Abinash Prakashan, 1980), 8.

8. M. C. Choubey, Lakulīśa in Indian Art and Culture (Delhi: Sharada, 1997), 86.

9. Susan Huntington refers to this image as Saraswatī in line with traditional interpretations of this image and its inscription such as Srinivasā Ayyangar’s translation, where the inscription refers to the goddess as the “mother goddess of speech.” Susan L. Huntington, The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), 483; and Srinivasā Ayyangar, Bhoja Rājā (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1993), 93.

10. Darielle Mason has identified this figure as Ambikā Yakṣī and not as Saraswatī, in concurrence with Kirit Mankodi. Vishakha Desai and Darielle Mason, eds., Gods, Guardians, and Lovers (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1993), 258–59, fig. 68; and Kirit Mankodi, “A Paramāra Sculpture in the British Museum: Vāgdevī or Yakshi Ambikā?” Sambodhi 9, no. 105 (1980–81): 96–103. Mason draws our attention to the lion vehicle as opposed to the haṁsa usually associated with Saraswatī. If one glances through the images of Saraswatī in Rao’s classic iconographical work, the elephant goad recurs as an attribute of Saraswatī and


12. Dr. Tamara Sears introduced me to the architectural history of guru darśan in monastic spaces during our travels in the field together, which she later published; see Tamara Sears, “Constructing the Guru: Ritual Authority and Architectural Space in Medieval India,” *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 1 (2008): 7–31.


14. Although there is no concrete way to corroborate this, the adjacent hill is the site of an underground dug-out monastery. The site is quite inaccessible today and has no major inscriptions or architecture that could be used to date it.


17. One of the oldest buildings in nearby Uparamāla is the Kālikā Mātā temple (Chittorgarh), originally dedicated to Sūrya when it “may have been built under Guhila Bappa Rawala’s predecessor Manabhanga (725 CE).” Dhaky, “Genesis and Development,” 143.


19. During the coronation ceremonies of a Mewāri mahārāṇā, a Bhil is supposed to anoint the Guhila leader’s forehead with his blood, indicating allegiance. The vestiges of a Bhil-Guhila relationship were very important for the construction of kingship by mahārāṇās as late as the twentieth century. A second reference to Bhil origins for kingship in the region is found in Dūṅgarpur, where the first mahārawal is said to have been granted the kingdom by a Bhil chieftain named Dungaria.


23. Extensive fieldwork in Rājāsthan in 2002 allowed me to see the priests at Eklingji engaging in the practice of awakening Śiva simultaneously in their bodies and that of the icon, as well as to read their prayer manual, called a pūjā-paddhati. For select secondary sources on these methods in India see Michael Meister, “Giving Up and Taking On: The Body in Ritual” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 41 (2002): 92–103; Joanne Punzo Waghorne and Norman Cutler, in association with Vasudha Narayanan, *Gods of Flesh, Gods of...*


25. Much new work on tantra has been published since the turn of the century in addition to old classics such as Karel R. van Kooij’s Worship of the Goddess According to the Kālikā Purāṇa (Leiden: Brill, 1972); see, e.g., Katherine A. Harper and Robert L. Brown, The Roots of Tantra (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); Alexis Sanderson, Meaning in Tantric Ritual (New Delhi: Tantra Foundation, 2006); Jae-Eun Shin, “Yoni, Yogini’s and Mahavidhyas,” Studies in History 26, no. 1 (2010): 1–29. Shaman Hatley’s critical review of the literature is also very useful; see Hatley, “Tantric Śaivism.”

26. See Dupuche, Abhinavagupta.


of this myth see Rachel Fell McDermott and Jeffrey J. Kripal, *Encountering Kali: In the Margins, at the Center, in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

31. On the number three see Alan Dundes, *Interpreting Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980). The Brhad-āranyaka Upaniṣad (BU) also has a 3 + 1 narrative structure, which may explain the three walls plus inner sanctum articulation of the Devi Māhātmya story in circumambulating the Ambikā temple in Jagat. For example, the BU alludes to ātman in metaphors of 3 [1.5.3–1.5.8]:

The three worlds are also these—this world is speech; the middle world is the mind; and the world above is breath. The three Vedas are also these—the Rigveda is speech; the Yajurveda is the mind; and the Sāmaveda is breath. The gods, ancestors, and humans are also these—the gods are speech (vāc, also personified as a goddess); the ancestors are the mind; and the humans are the breath. What one knows, what one seeks to know, and what one does not know . . .

Further along in the BU [1.6.3], this undulating series of threes is subsumed into one (ātman): “While this is a triple reality, yet it is one—it is this self [ātman]. While the self is one, yet this triple reality. Now the immortal here is veiled by the real. Clearly, the immortal is breath, while the real is name and visible appearance; the breath here is veiled by these two.” Finally, when this three-to-one ātman ideal merges with brāhmaṇ, we find the conclusion of the 3 + 1 narrative and philosophical structure that parallels the architectural core of circumambulating the three exterior walls of the classic medieval temple sanctum, punctuated by the darsānic climax of the icon’s gaze out from the sanctum interior. In BU [2.5.19] ātman merges with brāhmaṇ: “This brahman is without a before and an after, without an inner and an outer. Brahman is this self (ātman) here which perceives everything. That is the teaching.” Patrick Olivelle, trans., *The Upaniṣads* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 19, 23, 33.


38. Gamari lies near a place selected for a large dam project in the twentieth century.

40. References to this form of worship abound in early medieval texts as well. The Agnipūrāṇa and the Tāntrāloka both mention this form of worship directly. Current worship of Śrī Eklīṅgī, understood as the divine ruler of Mewār still in the twenty-first century, assumes this iconographic form and parallels medieval ritual in the pūjā-paddhati read to me by Narendra Dashora in Eklīṅgī in 2002.


42. The earliest metal reference to the ruling dynasty of Udaipur are the Kadmal Plates, which date to 1083 CE under the reign of Vijaysimha. Opening with praise for Śrī Eklīṅgī, the plates list Guhadatta, and not Bappa, as the progenitor of the Guhilas of Mewār. Only beginning in the thirteenth century was the myth of Bappa as dynastic founder propagated. The Kadmal Plates give a dynastic list of the Mewārī Guhilas from Guhadatta through Mahipala, covering eighteen generations over the course of four centuries. See Akshaya Keerty Vyas, “Kadmal Plates of Guhila Vijayasimha, V.S. 1140,” Epigraphia Indica 31 (1955–56): 239.


44. Agrawala (ibid.) suggests that Sridhara may be the ruler’s name or title and that the Vaiśāvaya Sās-Bahu temples may date to his eleventh-century reign, whereas Vyas argues that the ruler was Vairata, the son of Mahipala, based on the dates, even though there is no physical evidence for this opinion. See Vyas, “Kadmal Plates of Guhila Vijayasimha, V.S. 1140,” 242.

CHAPTER 2. TEMPLE AS CATALYST

1. Kant defines “taste” as the “faculty of estimating the beautiful.” According to him, taste is subjective. Beauty itself, however, is defined as something that “pleases universally.” It is exactly this universalizing claim that becomes problematic when several different forms of praxis unfold in the same time and space. See Immanuel Kant, The Critique of Judgement, trans. James Creed Meredith (1790; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 41–42, 60. Martin Powers has illuminated how conflicts of taste articulated power struggles and class wars in second-century China. See Martin Powers, “Conflicts of Taste,” in Art and Political Expression in Early China (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 335–70. In a lecture titled “Thinking Outside the Boxes: Nesting Reliquary Caskets from a 9th-Century Chinese Monastic Crypt,” Eugene Wang argued that aesthetic choices in funerary arts may even provide evidence of a coup instigated by court eunuchs (University of California, Berkeley, Dec. 1, 2005). Aesthetic choices privilege one taste over another. In the postcolonial context in India, conflicts of taste often date to different eras, privilege insiders or outsiders, and give rise to political conflict resulting in rioting and death.


4. According to Riegl, “When compared with other values [i.e., historical value] and intentional commemorative value, age-value has one advantage over all the other ideal values of the work of art in that it claims to address one and all and to possess universal validity. It rises above differences in religious persuasion and transcends differences in education and in understanding of art.” Alois Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin,” Oppositions 25 (Fall 1982): 31.
5. Ibid., 34.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 38.
8. Ibid.
9. This relationship could be fruitfully studied by comparing the lives of new temples such as the Birla temples with the contentious lives and deaths of sites such as Ayodhya. The Birla family has recently sponsored large stone temples across India. For an anthropological perspective on this modern patronage see Anne Hardgrove, “Philanthropy and Mapping the Kul: Industrialists and Temple Building,” in Community and Public Culture: The Marwaris in Calcutta, c. 1897–1997 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 65–100.
11. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 273.
15. Ibid., 275.
16. My gratitude goes to my research assistant, R. K. Purohit, who helped me to make estampages of the inscriptions at the temple and to translate the inscriptions into Hindi and English.
17. Metallic gold paint cannot be removed without damaging the exquisite carving it covers. This was a permanent defacement overlooked by the Archaeological Survey.
20. The French never trained Khmer nationals in “archaeological research, conservation and restoration techniques or cultural heritage management.” Even upon independence there were no trained archaeological personnel, so they depended on the French while providing 50 percent of the conservation budget with no important managerial or research role in conservation work. See Ang Choulean, Eric Prenowitz, and Ashley Thompson, Angkor: Past, Present, and Future, 2nd rev. ed. (Phnom Penh: APSARA, Royal Government of Cambodia, 1998), 103.
22. Ibid., 46.


26. My sincere thanks to the ASI officers who efficiently provided me with copies of relevant photographs.


28. Ibid., 1.


32. Personal communication with the thakur’s children at the Ambikā temple, May 2002.


34. R. C. Agrawala, personal communication, 2002, Jaipur.


36. Jagat’s Ambikā temple is currently number 273 on Rājāsthan’s “Adopt-a-Monument” list.

CHAPTER 3. TEMPLE AS ROYAL ABODE

1. Three approaches predominate: (1) translations of inscriptions, (2) histories based on bardic accounts, and (3) art historical analyses rooted in visual evidence. The most famous historians of Mewār, Col. James Tod and Kavirāj Śyāmaldās, belong to the colonial period. The former worked closely with local informants while living in Rājāsthan. Paintings record Tod’s presence at court, and his archives in Britain have been written about quite extensively by scholars of colonial India, among others. Śyāmaldās wrote in Hindi and his Vir Vinod has been a key textual source for Indian and Western scholars alike. Just as I was conducting fieldwork in 2002, Nandini Sinha Kapur wrote a critical book on state formation in medieval Rājāsthan rooted largely in inscriptive evidence. This book, and many of the works cited here, also rely on the classic corpus of Rājāsthani history for this specific period and region, including but not limited to Śyāmaldās, Tod, Dasharatha Sharma, and Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. See Dasharatha Sharma, ed., Rājāsthan through the Ages, vol. 1 (Bikaner: Rājāsthān State Archives, 1966); and Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, Rajputane ka Itihas [History of Rājputāna] (Ajmer: Vaidika Yantralaya, 1927). Key art historical articles by Tryna Lyons (from explicitly nondynastic perspectives) and by Andrew Topsfield help to establish overlapping time lines for bardic and inscriptive data, as well as for painted manuscripts and artists’ records in this chapter.

2. By “cultural” I mean specifically the architectural, artistic, musical, linguistic, material, and performative aspects of expression and production, as opposed to, say, military
battles or the conquest of large territories of lands or natural resources. I do not mean to include or exclude anything visual within or outside of a border.


13. I have written about the historiography of this Rājput glory elsewhere but for this book have chosen to focus primarily on the Kirttistambha, or “Tower of Glory.” See Deborah L. Stein, “To Curate in the Field: Archaeological Privatization and the Aesthetic ‘Legislation’ of Antiquity in India,” *Contemporary South Asia* 19, no. 1 (2011): 25–47.


16. Earlier architectural examples of helical (commonly known as “spiral” staircases), such as the Minaret of Sammara in Iraq (c. 900s) and the Minaret of the Ibn Tulun Mosque in Egypt (c. 1200s), use a helical design similar to the Italian Tower of Pisa (c. 1500). Whereas the later Tower of Pisa has an internal staircase, these early West Asian examples remain exterior. What is unique about the Jain kirttistambha at Chittorgarh (c. 1300) and the technical innovation of that staircase plan in Mahārāṇā Kumbhā’s Kirttistambha (c. 1450) is the adoption of a square form of helical staircase in addition to an internal rather than external stairwell. A circular helical plan ascends or descends without ever stopping at a landing. If it does stop, as it does at, say, the stupa at Sanchi, it must interrupt the circular assent on the exterior, break the assent with an exterior spiral landing, and then continue the ascent. In the case of the early medieval West Asian examples the zigurat or minaret is surrounded by an exterior stair that permits a person to ascend from bottom to top or to descend from top to bottom. The square helical staircase permits the person to stop at intermediate stations; thus, exterior examples such as early Mesopotamian zigurats or Southeast Asian stupas allow for circumambulation, similar to the circular plan at the Sanchi Stupa but with more
architectural cohesion and fluidity. When the square helical staircase is combined with the internal staircase, it becomes possible to have square landings and to stack pavilions or “maṇḍapas” one upon another. This is the case at the Kirti Stambha of Mahārāṇa Kumbhā, where nine “maṇḍapas” are stacked and the internal helical square staircase makes the circumambulation of each level possible as a distinct experience. The stacked architecture creates the unique opportunity to experience nine maṇḍapa spaces in relation to each other within a span of ten to thirty minutes—an experience that would otherwise take days of traveling to different buildings.


20. Afghans, Arabs, Persianate Mughals, and Gujarati sultanates form a rather diaphanous mix of varied interests from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.


well as in the field on a three-person trip to Gupta sites with Joanna and me in 2000, greatly influenced how I think about Gupta temples, iconography, and the temple wall in general.


29. Ibid., 31n39.

30. According to Derrida, the archonic principle is that the archive is repressed and suppressed patricide. The father is killed and remembered externally, removed from the mind, remade, “de-made,” and unmade. The patriarchal logic reifies the father as omnipresent as well. He is obliterated, yet he is present enough to erase the existence of descendant as independent of the patriarch. Jacques Derrida, Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 95.


34. Derrida, Archive Fever, 93.

35. David Ludden, “Ayodhyā: A Window on the World,” in Contesting the Nation: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India, ed. David Ludden (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996). This nationalist discourse continues today with the dispute over the Taj Mahal. According to Agence France-Presse, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad now claims the Taj Mahal is built on the ruins of an àiva temple, and “pillars and temple” can be found in the unexcavated basement of the building. Historian Akhilesh Mithal has evidence that there was only a garden when the land was purchased from the Maharaja of Jaipur. The Taj Mahal is currently legally disputed by the Waqf board, which has summoned the Archaeological Survey of India for the case. See “Hindus and Muslims in Monumental Dispute over Taj Mahal,” Agence France-Presse, May 18, 2005, https://wwrn.org/articles/16882/.


38. The historiography of this site alone suggests the continuing power of monuments to denominate territory in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. M. A. Dhaky, “The


40. Ibid., 26.


44. “A Stone Inscription of Ekaiṅgaṇī near Udeypore in Meywar. Dated Samvat 1545,” in *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar* (Bhavnagar: Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, 1894), 118–33.


46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Vyas suggests that this Bhoja is an early predecessor of the Guhila family. Ibid., 306.

49. Ibid.

50. In 1649 CE Sūtradhāra Pitambar, son of Kachara of the Sompura caste, made a pilgrimage to Jagat, and in 1702 CE Sūtradhāra Reda of the Sompura caste also inscribed his visit on the Ambikā temple.


52. The increased complexity of temple programs was foreshadowed in the early eleventh century in the Mirāṇ temple at Ahar.

53. Darielle Mason argues that the unframed semidivinities occurred with increasing frequency in Mahā-Gurjara architecture with the result of “linking the indentations and projections into a playful narrative.” Mason, “A Sense of Time and Place,” 134.

54. The preference for regional style over sectarian orientation is evident at Ranakpur, where a Surya temple figures prominently at a predominantly Jain site. Ritual practice and architectural style may be regional rather than sectarian. This is one reason the emanation theory may not be the best way to interpret the walls unless Jains also believed in vāstuśāstra, and so on. Also vāstu may very well postdate the architecture.


56. Despite three hundred years without an inscription, the exterior of the Ambikā temple remained pristinely preserved until theft attempts in 2000 left some degree of damage. When the temple was photographed in the 1950s and 1960s, however, there was no image
in the sanctum. Susan Huntington suggests that “Muslim destruction of Hindu temples was not always for iconoclastic purposes.” Possibly, and very probably, raiders were seeking treasure so often housed in the temple. Not only would the treasure be desirable for its own value, but its loss could help to undermine the economic basis (and I might argue numinous basis) of a ruling dynasty. Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), 489.


58. Agrawala, “An Inscription from Jávar, Rájásthán.”


63. Ibid.

64. Dr. Meena Gaur, Professor of History at Mohanlal Sukhadia University, personal conversations about records and women’s history as a research adviser on Hindi-language and Rájásthani-language archives and primary sources in Udaipur, 2002 and 2009. Ramya Sreenivasan has begun the historical investigation of women during this period with her book *The Many Lives of a Rajput Queen: Heroic Pasts in India, c. 1500–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).


66. Nath emphasizes this interesting colonial mistake in prescient postcolonial arguments in his book about this tower, *Kirtti-Stambha*.

67. Agrawala, “An Inscription from Jávar, Rájásthán.”

68. There is no shortage of material since a Mewári renaissance of sorts seems to have been under way in the fifteenth century, and the patron of Jáwar’s Ramanatha temple shared the close of the fifteenth century with the two other most famous Mewári women, Rani Padmini, who led the group immolation during the siege of Chittorgarh, and the Vaiśṇavaite saint Mirabai.

69. The Ramanatha icon and his tank echo medieval hymns and stories, such as the tale of lovers who would meet in the night for temple trysts and then wash away their sins in the adjacent tank under the purifying gaze of the deity. See Phyllis Granoff, “Halayudha’s Prism: The Experience of Religion in Medieval Hymns and Stories,” in *Gods, Guardians, and Lovers: Temple Sculptures from North India, AD 700–1200*, ed. Vishakha N. Desai and Darielle Mason (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1993), 71.

70. In 2002 the inscription was in the framed niche to the right of the stairs descending toward the tank. As of February 2009 this inscription was no longer at the tank.
CHAPTER 4. TEMPLE AS PALIMPSEST


5. Almost all of these stone inscriptions can be found, read, used for rubbings, and photographed in situ. I have photographed many of these inscriptions in the field but have spared publishers the expense of reproducing this extensive visual documentation in print. My photography and rubbings are available on request, although many have been published already in more than one place. Most of the inscriptive evidence for this section has been collated in a small volume published in Udaipur, Rājāsthan, The Mewar Inscriptions, written by Ratan Lal Mishra (Udaipur: Mahamaya Mandir, 2000). Many of these inscriptions have also been published and translated in more reliable and complete formats in the Epigraphical Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has also reproduced many of these inscriptions in his Hindi-language Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihās [History of the kingdom of Dūṅgarpur]. The actual rubbings that Ojha took of these inscriptions are preserved in the archives of the royal family in Dūṅgarpur. They kindly...
permitted me to photograph these rubbings there, and these photographs are also available
on request. Many of these inscriptions were included in Kaviraj Shyamaldas’s Hindi-lang-

guage, Vir Vinod, in four volumes. See Kaviraj Shyamaldas, Vir Vinod [History of Rājāsthan,
with special reference to Udaipur], 4 vols. (1886; Udayapura, Rājasthāna: Maharāṇa Mevāra
Historikala Pablikeśansa Trāṣṭa; Jodhapura: Saha prakāṣaka evaṃ vitaraka, Rājasthāṇi
Granṭhaṅgāra, 2007). Some stone slabs were moved by James Tod and others to the museum
at Udaipur, and a few others were lost in transit to England. More recently, Jennifer Joffee
has examined the later inscripional records of Mewār closely in her dissertation research
based on archival work on postsultanate, Hindi-language history and fieldwork at Rajsa-
mand Lake and other locations throughout Mewār. Tryna Lyons has also studied many of
the nondynastic and aural records in depth in collaboration locally with the Vyas family and
local bards. See Jennifer Beth Joffee, “Art, Architecture, and Politics in Mewār (Rājāsthan,
India), 1628–1710” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2005); and Tryna Lyons, Artists of
Nathadwara: The Practice of Painting in Rājāsthan (Bloomington: Indiana University Press;
Ahmedabad: Mapin, 2004).

6. Pūjāri Narendra Dashora and his whole family adopted me during the majority of
my fieldwork in Ekliṅgī. He and I studied texts together orally. Mrs. Dashora, her daughter-
in-law, Mrs. Hema Dashora, and my aunties Bhuaji and Taiji welcomed me wholeheartedly
into their home and every aspect of their lives in and out of the temple. With Śrī Ekliṅgī
and the local temples as a catalyst, we shared rituals secular and Śaiva alike over the course
of 2002. My two Dashora brothers explored multiple sites beyond the walls of the temple
compound with me, including the site where Harit Rashi is said to have appeared to Bappa
Rāwal as envisioned in the painting found in Dūṅgarpur at the Juna Mahal. None of this
folklore work, or family pleasure and companionship, would have been possible without the
anthropological training provided by the late Alan Dundes, in the company of fellow stu-
dents Kirtana Thangavelu, Alka Hingorani, and Adheesh Sathaye. An example of Dundes’s
approach to folklore in South Asia can be found in his Two Tales of Crow and Sparrow
(Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997).

7. See Tamara Sears, “Śaiva Monastic Complexes in Twelfth-Century Rājāsthan: The

8. Tamara Sears, “Constructing the Guru: Ritual Authority and Architectural Space in


10. See, e.g., Shaman Hatley, “The Brahmayāmalatantra and Early Śaiva Cult of Yoganīs”
(PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007); Vidya Dehejia, Yogini, Cult and Temples: A
Tanric Tradition (New Delhi: National Museum, 1986); and Padma Kaimal, Scattered God-
desses: Travels with the Yoganīs (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2012).

11. See Akshaya Keerty Vyas, “First and Third Slabs of Kumbhalgarh Inscription: V.S.

12. Akshaya Keerty Vyas, “Paldi Inscription of Guhila Arisimha; V.S. 1173,” Epigraphia

13. F. Kiellhorn, “Chitorgadh Stone Inscription of the Chālukya Kumarapala: The [Vi-

14. Ibid.

16. The location of this temple, in a gorge by Ekliṅgi, just down the hill from an underground Pāśupata Śiva monastery, links this time and place to a liminal political environment. In Yuko Yokochi’s impressive dissertation we are reminded about her associations in Sanskrit texts:

According to the *Harivamśa* and Jinasena’s *Harivamśapurāṇa*, she was considered to be worshipped by the people who are on the fringe of Hindu society, such as mountaineers and bandits, in the Vindhya mountains. It can also be gleaned from both texts that she was regarded as being terrifying and inauspicious and, when propitiated properly, as conferring on her devotees protection and worldly benefits. These suggest that Vindhyavāsini originated from goddesses who were worshipped locally in the Vindhya mountains in cultural environments outside the Hindu dharmic society and who could have been included in the class of the Mothers as such. (Yuko Yokochi, “The Rise of the Warrior Goddess in Ancient India: A Study of the Myth Cycle of Kausīki-Vindhyāvāsini in the *Skandapurāṇa*” [PhD diss., University of Groningen, The Netherlands, 2005], 121, www.rug.nl/research/portal/files/2903012/thesis.pdf)

17. According to Sharma, the *Kuvalayamala* describes sailors who promise animal sacrifices if they are saved from drowning. Similarly, the *Smararaichchaka* recounts that tails and heads of buffaloes and rams hung from a tree adjoining a Caṇḍīka temple. The *Bṛhatkathakosa* describes bloody worship specifically of Vindhyāvāsini. See Sharma, *Rājāsthan through the Ages*, 1:378–79.

18. It is no accident that the Vindhyāvāsini temple is located directly parallel to the Ekliṅgi temple complex, especially given the early record of the theological debates between Śaivaites, Buddhists, and Jains recorded on the Lakulīśa temple dedicated to the Pāśupata Śiva saint. Yuko Yokochi’s dissertation names two distinct streams of goddess integration as a political maneuver—the first, as a tribal chieftain who is himself a goddess-worshipper integrates himself into a brāhmanical tradition as a fledgling kshetria king; and the second, as a local king desires to win over a local tribal population who worships the goddess by incorporating local goddesses into a brāhmanical theological system. Yokochi argues further:

The motivation behind the second stream can also be said to have been political in a wider sense. For the lay Śaiva Brahmins who promoted the second stream, how to exert stronger cultural influence on society against their opponents, such as the Bhāgavata/Vaiśṇavas, Buddhists and Jains, must have been one of their main concerns. Hence, the incorporation of the worship of goddesses who were popular among the majority of society into their mythological and theological system would have been felt to be essential. (15–16)

Either one of these scenarios is likely at the Vindhyāvāsini temple, which theologically seems to fit alongside the earliest tenth-century temples within the temple complex and the nearby gorge, but stylistically and art historically displays sculptural faces that seem to date much more firmly in a later idiom of flattened faces as found in Jāwar in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, rather than the chiseled, even somewhat beaked, faces one would
usually associate with tenth- and eleventh-century North India. Built before the fifteenth-century wall around the complex, could the Vindhyāvāsinī temple represent an attempt to win locals back into the Pāśupata Śiva fold in the wake of sultanate-period military strife and invitations?

21. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 96.
26. Ibid., 97.
27. This history is best described in Ojha, Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihas [History of the kingdom of Dūṅgarpur], first published by the author in 1936 (Jodhpur: Rājāsthani Granthagar, 2000); the history also gets brief mention in Rima Hooja, A History of Rājāsthān (New Delhi: Rupa, 2006), 349.
28. Mahesh Purohit, “A Short History of Dūṅgarpur State.” This is an unpublished paper given to me by Mahesh Purohit, Dūṅgarpur historian, in 2002, in the Dūṅgarpur Palace Archives, along with a copy of Ojha’s Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihas, as a gift, when I was photographing Ojha’s inscriptiveal rubbings there.
29. Purohit, “A Short History of Dūṅgarpur State.”
30. P. K. Trivedi, Art Traditions of the Paramāras of Vagada (Jaipur: Publication Scheme, 1995), 26. According to one of King Bhoja’s grants, he is said to have celebrated a victory in Vatapāṭraḵ.
32. Purohit, “A Short History of Dūṅgarpur State.”
33. My sincere thanks go to Shri R. K. Purohit for his assistance with the rubbings, transcriptions, and translations of Jagat’s inscriptions from Sanskrit and Vagadi/Mewāri into Hindi and English.
35. Known as the constellation Pleiades in Western astronomy, the star cluster Kṛttikās corresponds to the wives of the ṛṣīs (sages) and were represented standing without children and personified as adult female givers. Sara Schastok contrasts these Kṛttikās, or personified stars of the Pleiades cluster, with “proto-Saptamāṭrkas,” who were represented as seated with children. See Sara L. Schastok, The Śāmalājī Sculptures and 6th-Century Art in Western India (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 57, 64.
36. The two most prominent examples that come to mind are the Kālī temple in the Mehengardh fort in Jodhpur and the Sun temple at Chittorgarh, both of which were re-consecrated after victory in battle.
37. Sinhadadeva’s capital was at Vaṭṭapradak in Vagada before the capital moved to Dūṅgarpur.


**CHAPTER 5. TEMPLE AS RITUAL CENTER**


2. In Abhinavagupta: *The Kula Ritual (As Elaborated in Chapter 29 of the Tantrāloka)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003), John Dupuche cites three quotations (Qt.) from the Tantrāloka as recorded by the thirteenth-century commentator Jayaratha (Jr.) pertaining to the importance of alcohol:

   Jr.13d.1 “The essence of Śiva”: it is said in this regard:

   Qt. 13d.1 “Alcohol is the supreme śakti; wine is said to be Bhairava. The self is turned into liquid form since Bhairava is great-hearted.”

   Jr.13d.2 “Without [alcohol] there is no external enjoyment and liberation.” Therefore it is said:

   Qt. 13d.2: “Without it there is no liberation; without it [consciousness] does not have objective form; without it there is no supernatural power, especially in the Bhairava tradition.”

   Qt. 13d.3: “Since, O Maheśvarī [a goddess featured just to the right of the inner sanctum at Jagat, as well as on the exterior of the temple in a small shrine corresponding to Vaiṣṇavi and Brahmini as well], [alcohol’s] gift of enjoyment and liberation is smelt, heard, seen, drunk, and touched . . .” (186)


holds weight based on stylistic evidence and the decline of Pratihāra power. Moreover, the dated inscriptions suggest consecration, repair, or the commemoration of an event rather than initial construction.

7. For archaeological and inscriptive sources on the Mēdapāṭa cohort see the bibliography following the EITA chapter on the Guhilas of Mēdapāṭa. Additionally, for Śobhagpura and Hindi-language descriptions of these sites see Vishnu Prakash Mali, “Mewār ki Murtikala” (PhD diss., Mohan Lal Sukhadia University, Udaipur, 1989). I would not have found Śobhagpura were it not for his dissertation and the research access provided by my visa sponsor in the History Department of Mohan Lal Sukhadia University (Udaipur, Rājāsthan), Professor Meena Gaur.


10. The name of the thakur’s compound is Rawala. Rawala is a form of “raval,” or “rasi,” the suffix used by Pāśupata initiates. The title of the ruler of Vagada is “mahārawal,” perhaps another political link to the Pāśupata sect. The most famous person to bear this suffix is Bappa Rāwal, considered the founder of the Guhila line from the thirteenth century through the present.

11. The only known reference to the site is through the one-line inscription cited by Ojha in Rajputane ka Itihas [History of Rājputāna] (Ajmer: Vaidika Yantralaya, 1927), which notes that the site does not seem to be under the dominion of the Rājāsthan Archaeological Department or any temple trust. The site does not even seem to be on the radar of the band of thieves so active in the region in the past decade or so. For more on historian Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha see Hukum Chand Jain, Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha: Historiography and Historical Exploration of Rājāsthan (Jodhpur: Treasure Books, 2011). For more on the gaps between what the Hindi-language histories that I found in India and the colonial-era English-language histories choose to highlight or ignore, see Deborah Stein, “Translating the Year 1299: On Reading Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic in English,” Art in Translation 4, no. 1 (2012): 41–59. There I address how translating inscriptions such as those found at Āat and the capital of Vagada, Vatpaḍrak, leads to new prime archaeological sites in the field that may or may not have been on the map as visual monuments or sources of colonial histories alone.

12. Dhaky, “Mahā-Gurjara Style, Last Phase.”


17. According to Dhaky, Kṣēmaṅkari is found in the “khattakas (niches) of the pītha of the west bhadra (central offsets) of the mūlaprāsāda [she holds the mālā, triśula, ghanṭika and kamandalu]; second, her image in the central rathikā of the phānisanā of mukhacatuski [she holds aksamala, kamala, and kamandalu], a situation which has a tutelary significance; and last, the image in the central rāṭhikā of the uṭṭarang of the door-frame itself, yet another and very significant tutelary situation having a most direct bearing on the cult image.” See M. A. Dhaky, “Kṣēmaṅkari: The Cult Image of the Ambikā Temple, Jagat,” Vishveshraranand Indological Journal 6 (1968): 117–20, 119–20.

18. The form continues to be important as is evident in a fourteenth-century pedestal from the ancient Jagat temple of Vatpaḍrak (modern-day Baroda) in the Dūṅgarpur region.

19. Dhaky suggests the lion pedestal is evidence that the Ambikā temple was also dedicated to Kṣēmaṅkari; however, the exterior program does not support this hypothesis. See Dhaky, “Kṣēmaṅkari,” 119. K. V. Soundara Rajan’s argument, that the tripartite program may reflect the partition of the Navratrī festival into three parts for Durgā, Lakṣmī, and Saraswati, leaves no room for yoginīs in the Ambikā temple program. Soundara Rajan considers the program devoid of “ugra and ghora” forms and thus argues the Ambikā temple precedes the yoginī cult, which, according to him, comes to life in the eleventh century. See K. V. Soundara Rajan, “The Devi Cult Nucleus at Jagat, Rajāsthan,” Vishveshraranand Indological Journal 1 (March 1963): 129–40. Kṣēmaṅkari, the cult figure according to Dhaky, is found primarily in yoginī lists yet is hardly mentioned in the Devi Māhātmya. Dating approximately to the sixth century, the Devi Māhātmya most closely parallels the iconography. The Ambikā temple seems to reflect the Devi Māhātmya story, whereas earlier remains such as the Aindrī in the Udaipur museum suggest a preexisting mātrakās cult in Jagat.


21. Mason locates the origin of these semidivine female figures in the river goddesses, who flanked the door to the garbhagṛha at Gupta sites, such as Deogarh. She emphasizes the semidivine (i.e., less than divine) nature of the apsaras/surasundarīs that made her appropriate to the hierarchical order of the pratiratha. She both minimizes the significance of this offset and, simultaneously, attends and celebrates the deity in the bhadra and sanctum. See Mason, “Frame, Form, and Variation,” 98–99, 101.


23. The pancamakāra, the five Ms, are wine, madya; meat, māṃsa; fish, matsya; parched grain, mudrā; and intercourse, maithuna. Abhinavagupta addresses this in his definition of the word “brahmacarya.” According to John R. Dupuche,

he defines the word brahmacarya by describing brahman as the bliss that belongs to Śiva and Śakti in their union. He goes on to interpret bliss as wine, meat and especially the sexual fluid emitted during intercourse, since these lead to bliss and result from bliss. The words “bliss” and “brahman” have, therefore, a double connotation and can refer to the inner experience as well as to the fluid which results from it. The word brahman is interchangeable with the word parabrahman. Therefore, the true brahmacarya is not celibate, which is the usual meaning of the word, nor is he involved with the 5 M’s, but rather makes use of the three M’s: Wine, Meat,


26. Art historians of European art often make a similar aesthetic maneuver in Bernini’s famous sculpture *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa*. The problem of the male viewer identifying with the female form in relation to a male god finds a precedent in the many ritual practices that cast men as Radha longing for Krishna or Ekliṅgī’s pūjāris as Pārvatī.

27. These figures may also have captured the imagination of many a modern viewer as a precedent of “art for art’s sake” since they are not specific divinities per se. These beautiful female forms flirt seductively with modern art historical notions of the nude. See Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), chap. 8, “Art History and the Nude: On Art, Obscenity, and Sexuality in Contemporary India.”

28. M. A. Dhaky identifies their location in this period: “throughout Northern India from the early 10th century onward are the deep salilantaras (recesses) of the shrine-wall and the wall of the Closed Hall. With their full stature and entourage they hide in and haunt these semi obscure corners.” They are found on the Ambikā temple at Jagat, the Sun temple at Tūṣa, and the Mahāvīra temple at Ghānerāo. Dhaky suggests the vyālas may have had Achaemenian or Scythian prototypes. By the medieval period (and the rhetorical moment of national pride in Indian art history), these “flowing forms of incomparable beauty, surpassing the originals on all counts, the primordial models of the vyālas of classical Iran were excelled by the Mediaeval masters of India.” M. A. Dhaky, *The Vyala Figures on the Mediaeval Temples of India* (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1965), 12, 14–15.

29. This technique, increasing the figural representation of the temple wall as a way of manipulating the viewer’s body in space, is typical of several Mēdapāṭa temples, including the Surya temple at Tūṣa, the Takṣaṅkēśvara and the Śivēśvara temples at Ekliṅgī, the Datoreśvara temple at Śobhagpura, and the Cārbhujā temple at Īswāl.

30. Darielle Mason argues for a narrative reading of these three images as three crucial moments in the killing of the demon. Furthermore, she notes, “the most iconically standard image for the region, that of the demon emerging from the severed neck, is placed in the back bhadra, producing also an axial emphasis.” Mason, “Frame, Form, and Variation,” 106. Why, then, was this form of the icon most popular in the region? It is this liminal image between life and death that most closely corresponds to the moment of sacrifice.

31. She describes the two main types of Vāstumaṇḍala diagrams (sixty-four squares and eighty-one squares), which clearly encode technology by associating mathematical facts with philosophical ideas about their relationship to metaphysical ideas. These ideas are accompanied by ample footnotes to demonstrate the overlap of several different medieval Sanskrit architectural texts on this subject. See Stella Kramrisch, “‘The Plan’ and ‘Plan and Supernal Man,’” parts 2 and 3, in *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946), 1:19–98.

32. Brunner-Lachaux argues that the narrow relationship between the physical body and the subtle body is played out in rites using food. The treatment of the deity parallels human
comforts of ablutions, food, study, and sleep. See Brunner-Lachaux, *Somaśambhupaddhāti*, xxvi.


37. Even a contemporary art historian could project herself into one of those veranda scenes as she gathered information from the local villagers from the exact same perch.

The only other tenth-century archaeological site in the Chhapa region is the Śiva temple at Āṭ. This site demonstrates the most explicitly tantric imagery, suggesting that tantric worship was not completely integrated into the brāhmanical canon in tenth-century Chhapa.


Coburn, *Encountering the Goddess*.

Vidya Dehejia, *Yoginī, Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition* (New Delhi: National Museum, 1986); Shaman Hatley, “From Mātrī to Yoginī: Continuity and Transformation in the South Asian Cults of the Mother Goddesses,” in *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, ed. Istevan Keul (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 99–129. According to Hatley, “The Mahābhārata accounts of the mythology of the mātrīs place them in association with Skanda and his retinue of grahas or ‘seizers,’ and recent research suggests that there may even be architectural evidence to confirm that they were worshipped in their own temples in the time when that great epic was composed.” Ibid, 3.


M. A. Dhaky argues that an armless statue believed to be Kṣēmaṅkarī is the original icon. Dhaky, “Kṣēmaṅkarī,” 117–20.


Shaman Hatley has begun to unravel the textual history of goddess tantra in published work such as “From Mātrī to Yoginī Continuity”; and Shaman Hatley, “Tantric Śāivism in Early Medieval India: Recent Research and Future Directions,” *Religion Compass* 4, no. 10 (2010): 615–28.


The small Kṣēmaṅkarī temple in the kund at Chittorgarh dates to c. 825 CE. This temple has an image of Kṣēmaṅkarī in the back bhadra niche.

55. The Kṣēmaṅkari temple at Chittorgarh and the Dhadimati temple are the only other examples.


57. In addition to the seventh-century CE example of Kṣēmaṅkari mentioned earlier, another example of Kṣēmaṅkari is found as a fragment embedded into the outer wall of the compound at Lodravā. This sculpture is located left of the entrance of this tenth-century Bhatti site located near Jaisalmer.

58. “Māyā is māyā-bīja [‘Hṛ́m’],” according to the verse [JR.271 d.1] (Dupuche 335). Dupuche’s translation of Abhinavagupta’s tantric methods for penetration via phonemes emphasizes the importance of vāc (speech) and, more specifically, the mantric speech “Kṣa” personified in the goddess Kṣēmaṅkari. Not only was Kṣemarāja (61114) the name of one of Abhinavagupta’s important disciples but also the personification of mantric speech as a goddess indicates a direct association between the speech-penetration process; the tantric goddess syllable, “Hṛ́m”; and the association with maya (illusion). One can imagine foreshadowing one’s circumambulation with a visual representation of the goddess Kṣēmaṅkari on the lintel at Jagat, followed by an iconographic sequence that emphasizes the revelation of maya, through the temporal reminder of corporeal reality that is the goddess Cāmuṅḍā cast aside in the sanctum at Jagat. Meanwhile, texts, such as the Tantrāloka, that were contemporaneous with the Ambikā temple in Jagat, albeit from a different region, suggest the importance of “Hṛ́m” as a goddess seed-syllable for matric penetration rituals associated with maya in spoken word in the same era. See John Dupuche, Abhinavagupta: The Kula Ritual (As Elaborated in Chapter 29 of the Tantrāloka), (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003).
Asian American folklore archive at the University of British Columbia modeled after the Alan Dundes folklore archive at Berkeley. Grimes’s work on spatial and architectural ways of thinking about ritual was seminal during my fieldwork, as I mapped out layers of ritual space. Geertz’s idea of “deep description” also permeates this chapter—not as an end in itself but as a key anthropological component of postcolonial art histories in South Asia that pushes monuments beyond their stone materiality to incorporate more of the multiple layers of people who use them in the present and to imagine more about those who used them in the past.


5. Ascetics in yoga poses replace vyālas (leonine framing figures) beginning in the eleventh century and almost completely replace them in the next phase. By the sixteenth century, we find these ornamental figures wedged into the design of the śikhara (spire), rather than in the salilāntaras (indentations) on the walls where the vyālas made their first appearances. M. A. Dhaky, The Vyala Figures on the Mediaeval Temples of India (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1965), 12–13.

6. In his discussion of Peircean sign theory, Whitney Davis draws the distinction between “‘iconicity,’ as the sign resembles an object” and “‘indexicality,’ as the sign is literally a symptom of the processes that caused it.” Whitney Davis, Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 246–48. He gives the example of a line depicting a horizon as opposed to a line that “traces the artist’s gesture in making it.” Many Indian temples accumulate layers of indexical residue from centuries of ritual use.

7. Śriji Arvind Singh Mewār, personal communication, June 15, 2002.


12. Ibid., 9.


14. My sincere gratitude goes to Śri Aravind Singh Mārwār for supporting my research by making these intimate photographs available for this study. I also would like to thank all of the palace staff who assisted in my archival research.


16. Jagat Mehta Singh, personal communication, 2002. Mr. Singh’s long-established Mewāri family has had a contentious relationship with the mahārānās, as is evident in a
hero stone at the entrance to the City Palace in Udaipur that refers to a feud in recent centuries. His family home is just adjacent to the erstwhile elephant-fighting ring in Udaipur.


18. The antiquity of these actions is made evident not only in the stone traces of this ritual found in four-faced liṅga from Ahar and from Khamnor in the tenth century, in Kalyanpur in the eighteenth century, and at Ekliṅgī in the fifteenth century, but we also have premodern textual references to this in Sanskrit philosophical texts such as the Iśvara doctrine of Praśastapāda, which underscores omniscience as the primary attribute of Iśvara—borne out visually in the four faces of Śiva, and the fifth featureless face of Iśvara crowning the four sides of the liṅga. See George Chemparathy, “Iśvara Doctrine of Praśastapāda,” *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 6 (1968): 77–86.

19. One of Śri Ekliṅgī’s pundits, Narendra Dashora, and his wife from Mandasor link her natal eight-faced Śiva mūrti with the four-faced liṅgaṃ found in the sanctum of the Śri Ekliṅgī temple. The four- or eight-faced forms of Śiva correspond to their mode of worship, sequentially anointing the faces of the icon. The husband and wife identify her practice in the home with his practice in the temple. Both worship multifaced liṅga in the same way, albeit on a significantly different scale. They identify the form of the icon as a sign of their practice as Dashora Brahmans and as specifically Pāśupata-Śiva practitioners. Pundit and Mrs. Narendra Dashora, personal communication, 2002, Kailāśpurī.

20. The town’s very name, “Kailāśpurī,” derives from the home of Śiva on Mount Kailaśa.

21. For a discussion of the ways in which ritual layers the architectural space, see Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*.

22. The statue of Bappa Rāwal standing at the entrance to the main temple at Ekliṅgī venerates Bappa as the founder of the royal line of Mewār. According to Śri Aravind Singh Mārwār, the modern sculpture of Bappa Rāwal was created by a French sculptor named P. Lukas in the 1970s and was recently repainted (email, April 5, 2005). Lukas is also responsible for busts of Udai Singh and Rāṇā Pratap, as well as a full-sized statue of Rāṇā Sanga, all made in 1968 (Sabina Baily, email, May 10, 2005). Special thanks both to Sabina and to Śri Aravind Singh Mārwār for going to great lengths to provide me with this information.

23. “Under the tutelage of Kṛṣṇa, each person plays and for the moment may experience the role of his opposite: the servile wife acts the domineering husband, and vice versa; the ravisher acts the ravished; the menial acts the master; the enemy acts the friend, the strictered youths act the rulers of the republic.” McKim Marriott, “The Feast of Love,” in *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*, ed. Milton Singer (Honolulu: East-West Center Press), 212.


26. Several different tantric texts call for making lamps from dough, some even suggest mixing menstrual blood into the dough used to make the lamps with ghee that will then be consumed in nighttime ceremonies. These early medieval tantric texts differ from today’s rituals, which are limited to regular bread-dough lamps that are lit but not consumed.


30. *Phāṃsanā-kūṭa* is defined as a “miniature shrine roof unit having [a] low pyramidal roof.” Ibid.

31. The cassette is made by the hilltop shrine’s *bhopa*, not by the priest who attends the Ambikā temple or by the Rājputs who patronize the most impressive rites at the temple.


33. I use “man” since women are not allowed to sacrifice animals.


35. On the third night of Navratri at Ekliṅgji in 2002, I was told that *garbha* had replaced storytelling in Kailāśpuri only nine years before. Pundit Narendra Dashora recounted that only Nagar Bhatiwala Brahmins danced *garbha* two or three hundred years ago, but now everyone dances it. At Ekliṅgji a gaudy plastic *devī* is set up in front of the main temple while the ancient Vindhyāvāsini temple is the site of little activity. The *Durgāsaptaśati* (seven hundred verses), as the *Devī Māhātmya* is locally known, are read in the Vindhyāvāsini temple. The *Durgāsaptaśati* are also read in the main temple at Ekliṅgji over the course of nine days. A special four-hundred-year-old painting of Devī is erected at the side of the inner shrine behind the silver gate where the priests read the text.

36. In 2002 the seventh and eighth days of Navratri were cosmologically combined, so those worshipping at the Ambikā temple were celebrating the tenth-day Dusserah celebrations at the same time that the Meenas, who had counted the days, were observing the rites of the ninth day. The Rājputs followed the ritual calendar while the Meenas followed the sun
and the passing of days. They ended up pouring the *paddhi* into the well one day after the festivities had drawn to a close at the Ambikā temple.

37. This is similar to the way in which a goat was sacrificed at Jāwar Mātā temple during the same festival. There the live goat came in the main entrance, was sacrificed in a special lowered part of the modern marble floor below the temple steps, and was sneaked out a special side hole in the wall. The indentations in the marble floor outlined this perpendicular axis and seemed to have been made to serve this purpose, despite marble improvements that had been made in the early 1990s, a good two decades after animal sacrifice was made illegal.

38. Bassi Fort Rājput, personal communication, Feb. 2002. It is interesting that alcohol is a common offering for goddesses. Both the Chittorgarh Fort Kāli and the Jaipur Fort Kāli receive bottles of whiskey. The priests pour off one drink for the goddess and return the bottle as *prasād* (offerings).

CHAPTER 7. TEMPLE AS LEGAL BODY

3. Ibid., 39.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., chap. 2.
7. Ibid., chap. 4.
12. Ibid., 36.
13. Ibid., 37.
14. Ibid., 73.
19. Ibid., 85.
20. Ibid., 64.
21. Ibid., 66.
22. Ibid., 68.
23. Ibid., 77.
28. Lord Curzon’s scientific project is described on the ASI website.
30. Robert Hewison is known for his definition of “heritage” as “bogus history” and coined the term “heritage industry” in his book *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987).
34. Following my return from fieldwork, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was ratified in Paris on October 17, 2003. This UNESCO Convention builds on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore recommendation of 1989. The growing impact of globalization on intangible cultural heritage gave rise to this new category, which privileges praxis over a monument. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage protects oral tradition; performing arts; social practices, rituals, and festive events; knowledge and practice concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship such as the hand-working of wood, clay, or other materials. No mention is made of when social practices, rituals, and festive events permanently change the aesthetics and historical evidence at archaeological sites. Does intangible heritage come before tangible heritage?


38. The two most famous instances of communal violence and death related to archaeological sites in India took place in western India, at the Somnāth temple, and in northern India, at Ayodhyā. Many have written on both of these sites from archaeological, historical, and political perspectives. See, e.g., M. A. Dhaky and H. P. Shastri, The Riddle of the Temple of Somanātha (Varanasi: Bharata Manisha, 1974); Richard Eaton, Temple Desecration and Muslim States in Medieval India (New Delhi: Hope India, 2004); David Ludden, ed., Making India Hindu: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Romila Thapar, Somanatha: Many Voices of a History (New Delhi: Viking, 2004).


43. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rājāsthan, 601–2.

44. My sincere thanks to Śrīji Arvind Singh Mewār and his staff at the Maharana Mewār Research Institute for providing access to these records.

45. “List of Goswamy’s Personal Expenses” (Udaipur: Maharana Mewār Research Institute, 1905).


49. Bombay Public Trusts Act (1950), section 19, 58; quoted in ibid., 246.
50. Ibid., 107.
51. Bombay Public Trusts Act (1950), section 2(17), 20: “Removal of idol how far allowed? Whether suit of civil nature?:—Where all the worshippers of a temple, who are in the management of it decide to build a new temple, the old one being in ruins and the site on which it stood becoming unsanitary and inconvenient for worshippers, then, unless there is a clear prohibition against their demolishing the old temple and building a new temple, the court is not entitled to prevent the whole body from removing the temple with its image to a new site in the circumstances.” Quoted in ibid., 108. The theft of the deity clearly made the site “jīrṇa.”
52. “Temples may be described as occult laboratories where certain physical acts of adoration coupled with certain systemized prayers, psalms, mantras and musical invocations, can yield certain physical and psychological results as a matter of course, and if these physical processes are properly conducted, the results will accrue provided the persons who perform them are adequately equipped.” Hindu Religious Endowments Commission Report (1960–62), 42 (quoted in Shah, The Bombay Public Trusts Act, 83).
54. Ibid.
58. Ibid., 127.

CONCLUSION

5. Ibid.


7. Machu Picchu is one example of a World Heritage Site that looks surprisingly intact; however, only the foundations were discovered and much of the walls were (re)built as an archaeological project, not as part of any local use. See Michael E. Moseley, *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992). Moseley’s account uses ethnographic data to illuminate Incan history, a widespread technique in pre-Columbian art history. For a more romanticized version see Hiram Bingham, *Inca Land: Explorations in the Highlands of Peru* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1922).

8. The “Histories of Tribal and Modern” section of *The Predicament of Culture* examines the MOMA Picasso and Africa show that argued that modernism is beyond history. The question then remains: why were Western works historicized, when the “tribal” works were aestheticized? Here we find the familiar equations: Occident = time, and Orient = space. In other words, history is for the West and geography is for the East, according to orientalist and modernist visions of the word. See James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 9.


10. Ibid., 349n5.


