REGIONAL PASTS, IMPERIAL PRESENT: ARCHITECTURE AND MEMORY IN VIJAYANAGARA-PERIOD KARNATAKA

Crispin Branfoot

The Vijayanagara Empire dominated most of southern India for two centuries from the later fourteenth century. The empire was ruled from 'the City of Victory' or Vijayanagara around modern Hampi in northern Karnataka from its foundation in the 1330s through to the sack of the city in 1565 by a confederation of the Deccan Sultanates to the north. Two decades of research at Vijayanagara has documented and discussed the characteristics of the 'imperial' Vijayanagara style of temple architecture, developed during the fifteenth century and based on the Tamil tradition. A wider examination of fifteenth and sixteenth century south Indian temple architecture must take into account not only the temple architecture at the imperial centre, but also that of the wider empire in various regions, such as the southwest coast, interior Karnataka, Andhra and the Tamil country. This preliminary survey examines the broad trends in the temple architecture built in the period of Vijayanagara pre-eminence, the later fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, in the interior of the modern state of Karnataka but outside the capital (*Figure 1*).

Three issues frame the examination of temples across this region in the Vijayanagara period: chronology, geography and design. In terms of the chronology, it is important to examine whether temples were constructed across the empire throughout the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, or were there particular periods of activity. The current hypothesis is that temple construction was on a small-scale in the fourteenth century following the foundation of the empire in the 1330s. In the fifteenth century little was built across the empire except at the capital, and only in the early to mid sixteenth century did temple construction pick up, and then on a massive scale. With regard to the geographical distribution of temples founded or added to in this period, was building activity concentrated at the capital or were temples constructed in all parts of Karnataka? The scholarly tendency to focus on the temples built by one dynasty has often overlooked the continuity of use of a site over long periods. For example, temples in the Tamil country that had been founded under the rule of the Cholas or Pandyas, in the tenth or eleventh centuries, were often added to over a long period by successive rulers. Were temples built on new sites in Karnataka in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or were additions made to existing temples built during the period of Hoysala and Later Chalukyan rule?

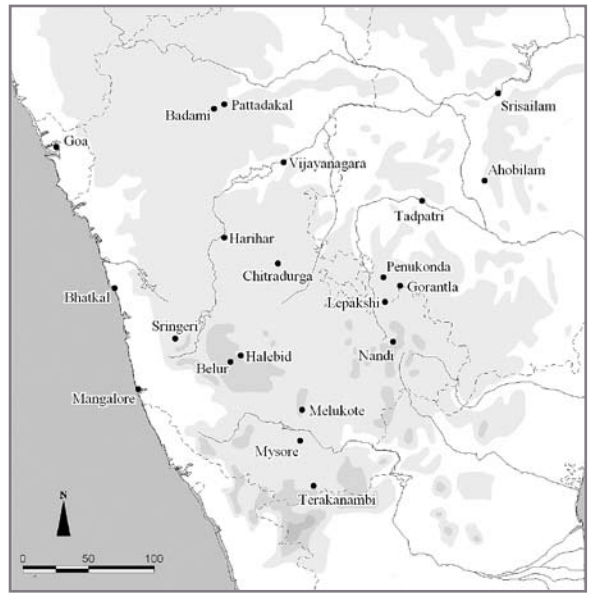

Figure 1: Map of Karnataka. Shading indicates land over 500 metres and dotted lines the modern state borders (Map derived from Bartholomew Collins digital map data © 2004 Collins Bartholomew)

The final issue to be addressed is that of Vijayanagara-period design. Within the vast area encompassed by the Vijayanagara Empire there were a variety of architectural traditions prior to the fifteenth century, associated with the regional dynastic powers: Later Chalukyan in northern Karnataka, Hoysala in southern Karnataka, Kakatiya in northern Andhra, and Chola in the Tamil country, for example. Early Vijayanagara temples in the Deccan tended to continue local patterns, but in the fifteenth century at the capital a new temple form was developed that was significantly derived from the Tamil country: the early fifteenth century Rāmacandra temple exemplifies this new tradition. In the early sixteenth century this tradition became the dominant 'imperial' style of architecture and spread across the empire, including interior Karnataka. An issue to be addressed therefore is the extent to which art and architecture contributed to any sense of unified imperial vision across the diverse regions and cultures of southern India. How does the 'imperial style' relate to the earlier architectural traditions of the empire, not just those of the Tamil country, but also those of the Deccan such as the Hoysalas and Later Chalukyas?

The wider issue addressed by this south Indian material is that of 'the use of the past in the past' - the archaeology of social memory (Alcock 2002, Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). A distinction has been made between inscribed memory practices that involve monuments, texts and representations, and incorporated or embodied memory practices that include ritual, performance and other transitory behaviour that is less materially evident (Connerton 1989). In southern India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is the monuments and commemorative places that are most archaeologically visible, yet the performative rituals that took place at these sites may be evident in both the epigraphic record and the design of sites.

NEW FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW EMPIRE

The architecture of the Vijayanagara Empire is best known at the capital, where there is a great concentration of activity, increasing in scale and volume until the monumental creations of the early to mid sixteenth century. Prior to the foundation of the city in the 1330s there was a fortress at Anegondi across the river from the *tirtha* at Hampi. The fortification of the site partly explains the city's location, but two myths are also significant. The fortifications are in several rings (three are definite) that follow the landscape; their success is reflected in the survival of the city for two hundred years on the northern war frontier with the Deccan Sultanates. The two inter-related site-myths are that of the local Paṁpātīrtha and events from the pan-Indian *Rāmāyaṇa*. Paṁpā is the sacred centre, a river and a local goddess, the daughter of a sage, Mataṅga, who married Śiva as Virūpākṣa. Virūpākṣa was the imperial protector deity from 1346 and known at the site from the twelfth century, but Paṁpā is known locally from at least 690 (Wagoner 1996). Vijayanagara is also identified with Kiṣkinda in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the mythical kingdom of Sugrīva and Vāli. The two myths inter-act for Mataṅga is in both, and Rāma is considered to be the brother of Paṁpā in her divine marriage to Śiva as Virūpākṣa. The Paṁpākṣetra is the focus of the sacred centre around the Virūpākṣa temple and tank, and the modern village of Hampi; the social memory of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, pervades the whole landscape.

The earliest temples at the site are on Hemakuta Hill and around the tank, to the north and south of the large Virūpākṣa temple. The ninth century Durgādevī temple on the west side of the tank is probably the earliest standing structure at Vijayanagara, and perhaps the original Paṁpā shrine. A number of multi-shrined temples in the typical Deccan tradition are located on Hemakuta Hill, some of which are memorial temples; some date to the ninth and tenth centuries, while other larger ones date to the fourteenth century. There a few other modest temples dated to the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries across the site, such as the Narasiṁha and Kunthu temples (Michell 2001, 26-34).

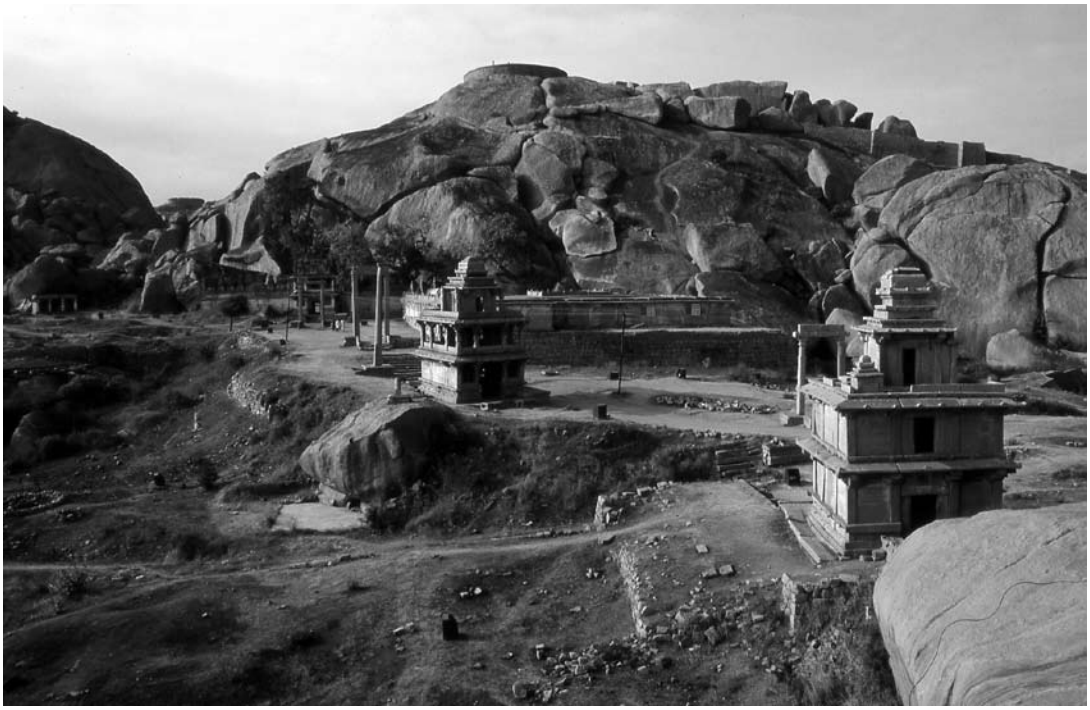

Figure 2: Temples and gateways within the fort at Chitradurga

The foundation of the Rāmacandra temple in the early fifteenth century, located at the city's centre in the heart of the 'royal' zone, marked a new departure in both planning - the temple was set in a walled complex with multiple shrines, halls and aligned gateways - and in design for it was based on the Tamil Drāviḍa tradition of architecture (Dallapiccola, Fritz, Michell and Rajasekhara 1992). The kings of Vijayanagara explicitly connected themselves with Rāma, and the city with Ayodhya. The temple was co-ordinated with the sacred landscape and lay between the zone of royal residence to the west and that of royal performance to the east. The probable date of the temple's foundation is between 1406 and 1417 under the patronage of Devarāya I (c. 1406-1422). The choice of Tamil Drāviḍa over a more local, Deccani tradition of architecture suggests that the artists and patron intended viewers to see this temple as Tamil in inspiration, evoking the political power of an earlier great empire, that of the Cholas (Michell 1994). The small Saumya Someśvara temple at Nimbapuram, five kilometres from Hampi, was also built in the Tamil tradition and has Tamil masons' marks suggesting the migration of artists to the capital; it was dedicated around 1450 according to an inscription on a boulder alongside (Michell 2001, 64; Manjunathaiah 1991).

The early sixteenth century, coinciding with the establishment of the third Vijayanagara dynasty of kings, the Tuluvas, marked a major change in scale, design and elaboration of imperial temple construction. Additions were made to both the Virūpākṣa and Viṭṭhala temples, followed by the foundation of major new temples, many of them Vaiṣṇava: the Kṛṣṇa (1515), Anantaśayana (1524), Tiruveṅgaḷanātha (1534), Paṭṭābhirāma and Raṅganātha (Michell 2001, 81-135; Verghese 2000, 58-93). Many other undated smaller ones confirm the broad pattern. The design of these temples, explicitly Tamil Drāviḍa in elevation, and the layout of complexes with subsidiary shrines, multiple enclosures, *gopura*s, festival *maṇḍapa*s, processional routes, and tanks all emphasise the break with past architectural traditions and the creation of a new imperial language of temple architecture in the early sixteenth century at the capital. The overall pattern at Vijayanagara is thus of small-scale foundations in the local,

Deccan tradition up until the early fifteenth century, then the adoption of the Tamil tradition for a number of new temples exemplified by the Rāmacandra. But it was the first half of the sixteenth century that saw the greatest activity in number, scale and elaboration of temples at the capital.

Outside the capital in central and southern Karnataka there are very few sites with substantial building activity from the mid fourteenth right through to the mid-sixteenth century; the paucity of substantial construction is striking after the richness of the capital. At Chitradurga, for example, a great hill fort enclosed a large inhabited area that was a major urban centre throughout the Vijayanagara period. A number of small shrines were built or added to in the fourteenth century, including the Saṁpige Siddheśvara and Hiḍimbeśvara constructed before natural caves in the mid-1350s, and a small *gopura* added to the latter in 1411 (*Epigraphia Carnatica* (henceforth *EC*) o.s. vol. 11, Cd. 2, 3, 14 & Srinivas & Reddi 2004, 58-61, 65-68, 1022-1024; *Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Report* for 1929, 14- 22; Michell 2001, 11-12). Two unusual multi-storied gateways are of similar date (Wagoner 2001)(*Figure 2*). Whilst the fortifications are clearly fifteenth or sixteenth century, temples were clearly not a priority at the site during the height of Vijayanagara rule: there is no great multi-enclosure temple complex built in the early sixteenth century as one might expect after seeing the similar urban landscape of Vijayanagara. The most substantial additions at Chitradurga – and even these are modest - were added by the Beda Nayakas who ruled the immediate region in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Focussing on Karnataka, the Kannada-speaking region, it is clear from a broader survey that the greatest architectural activity was around the periphery - along the western coast and the borders of the Telugu and Tamil countries. In Kanara, the coastal strip between Goa and Mangalore, large numbers of both Hindu and Jain temples were built in the fifteenth and through the middle of the sixteenth century. Temple construction in this region flourished as a result of the importance of the coast's ports to the inland, coastal and Indian Ocean trade. The temples of the region are built in a distinctive regional tradition of architecture with steep pitched roofs in stone that imitate earlier, wooden construction. They are almost all built on a relatively small scale and do not demonstrate any clear *architectural* connection with the imperial centre. The small-scale relief sculpture, however, shows the same range of subjects depicted in a similar manner to the temples of the capital (Branfoot & Dallapiccola 2005). The pattern of construction and design of temples remained similar along the Western Ghats, the hill region of Malnadu above Kanara. Many of these were built under Ikkeri Nayaka patronage, spanning the early sixteenth through to the early eighteenth centuries: the temples at Ikkeri and Keladi are the best-known examples (Michell 2001, 259-84). The unique Vidyāśaṅkara temple at Sringeri is also a sixteenth century creation, the design of which will be addressed further below.

On the border of the Telugu and Tamil countries to the east and southeast of Vijayanagara - modern Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu - there are further clear signs of Vijayanagara temple construction, modestly in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and on a widespread and monumental scale in the first half of the sixteenth century, demonstrating a similar pattern to that at the capital. Amongst the many examples of temples founded or substantially added to in this period are: the Madhvarāya temple at Gorantla (S. 1276 = 1354)(*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* 92 of 1912), the Rāma and Śiva at Penukonda (late fifteenth/early sixteenth century), the Vīrabhadra at Lepakshi (1530s), and significant additions to the Bhôganandīśvara temple at Nandi (mid sixteenth century) all north of modern Bangalore; and in a cluster on the border with the Tamil region south of Mysore, the Lakṣmī-Varadarāja and Gopālaswāmi at Terakanambi, the Vijayanārāyaṇa and a further cluster of four temples at Gundlupet, and the Triyambakeśvara at Triyambakapura, all dating to the first half of the sixteenth century (*Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Report* for 1937, 19-27). Across the Deccan plateau it is in Andhra that there is the most substantial evidence for Vijayanagara-period temple construction outside the capital itself, at existing sites such as Ahobilam and Srisailam, and new foundations, for example Tadpatri, Vontimitta and Somapalem.

BUILDING EXTENSIONS ON THE SITES OF THE PAST

If the absence of substantial fifteenth or sixteenth century temples across the area of interior Karnataka ruled by the Vijayanagara *rāya*s seems striking, then this may be related to the wealth of stone temples built during the rule of earlier dynasties, especially the Early Western Chalukyas of Badami, the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Hoysalas. All these temples have been thoroughly studied and documented by scholars over a long period (Dhaky 1996; Foekema 1994, 2003a, 2003b; Meister & Dhaky 1986; Michell 1975; Settar 1992). Perhaps there were no new temple foundations because there were plenty of temples already there, that remained in use and which Vijayanagara patrons simply added to. Ritual activity and Vijayanagara patronage at these sites may then be visually expressed through the addition of shrines, *maṇḍapa*s or *gopura*s. This is the typical pattern in the Tamil country where many temples develop over very long periods.

Once again, the patterns of activity in the Vijayanagara period are striking for the paucity of material evidence: not only are there few new foundations, but even additions to existing temples are hard to find. At the Early Western Chalukya sites of Badami, Aihole, Mahakuta and Pattadakal, for example, the sixth to eighth century temples were not added to later, even if they remained in use - and this is far from certain. At Badami in the subsequent period of Later Chalukyan rule in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, new and separate temples were built around the tank - including the Mallikarjuna and Yellamā temples and the Bhutanātha group - rather than additions being made to existing temples (Dhaky 1996, 39, 49, 78-82; Foekema 2003, 93-105). A number of Later Chalukyan temples were similarly built at nearby Aihole. But no Vijayanagara-period structures are known from these sites. At Badami, for example, a Kannada inscription of the reign of Harihara dated 1340 mentions the donation of villages in the presence of the deity Bhutanātha, enshrined in the existing eleventh-century temple on the east side of the tank, and the construction of the fort, but no new temple (Ritti & Gopal 2004, 3-4; *Indian Antiquary* vol. 10 (1881), 62-63). K. M. Suresh lists a large number of Vijayanagara temples by place, name, date and a few references to inscriptions or other comments in his broad survey of temples in Karnataka (Suresh 2003, 66-86). This suggests the widespread construction of temples across the region in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. But the dating for this list is very uncertain and the temples listed are not described; many have disappeared, are in ruins or are very modest in scale and elaboration. Further surveying of these temples is needed, but even a preliminary examination reveals a limited scale of activity at existing sites. A discussion of the important sites at Melukote, Belur, Harihar and Sringeri will illustrate the wider pattern.

Melukote is an important Vaiṣṇava pilgrimage site, one of the four most important Śrīvaiṣṇava centres together with Srirangam, Kanchipuram and Tirupati. The Nārāyaṇa temple, better known by the name of its processional image of Celuvarāya or Śelvapiḷḷai, was founded during the period of the Chola occupation of southern Karnataka between 1004 and 1116 (Vasantha 1991, 61). Melukote was made famous by Rāmanuja's flight here from Srirangam and subsequent twelve-year residence in the twelfth century. The *vimāna* and *ardhamaṇḍapa* were built in the Tamil Drāviḍa tradition of architecture, and are formally similar to contemporary temples in Chola Tamilnadu rather than contemporary eleventh century Hoysala monuments in southern Karnataka. In the early twelfth century during the reign of the Hoysala monarch Viṣṇuvārdhana (c. 1108-1142), traditionally considered to have been converted from Jainism to Śrīvaiṣṇavism by Rāmānuja, the *mahāmaṇḍapa* was built and the *prākāra* wall with small colonnade added all round. In the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, during the reign of Ballāla III (c. 1292-1343) the covered area between the eastern entrance and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* had been constructed.

Figure 3: Raṅgamaṇḍapa of tāyār shrine, Celuva temple, Melukote

Within the temple seen today the only significant Vijayanagara-period architectural addition is the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* before the goddess (*tāyār*) shrine in the northwest corner and the infilling columns on the west and south sides. A Sanskrit inscription in Tamil and Grantha characters on one of the columns states that the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* was erected through the patronage of Śrīraṅganāyaki (or Raṅgāmbika), the wife of Timmaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka (*EC* n.s. vol. 6 no. 144 = *EC* o.s. vol. 3 Sr. 97)(*Figure 3*). The latter was the regional governor of the Vijayanagara *rāya* Mallikarjuna (c. 1452-65). Another Kannada inscription at Melukote, on a slab in the Jiyar shrine adjacent to the Celuva temple, records other donations by Timmaṇṇa's wife Raṅgāmbika in December 1458 (*S.* 1380) suggesting a similar date for the *tāyār* shrine's *raṅgamaṇḍapa* (*EC* n.s. vol. 6, no. 179 = *EC* o.s. vol. 3 Sr. 89; Srinivas & Reddi 2004, 1777-81). Though modest in scale, the columns of this *maṇḍapa* and encircling colonnade are very fine examples of Vijayanagara-period sculpture: around each column miniature colonettes are sculpted alongside very high-relief scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata,* and *Bhagavata Purāṇa*, many with identifying inscriptions (*EC* n.s. vol. 6, nos. 142, 145-148 = *EC* o.s. vol. 14 Sr 270, 272-275), together with other typical fifteenth-sixteenth century subjects such as the clown, *yāḷi* and conjoined mythical animals. The small *gopura* with plain jambs and the renovation of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* with new columns dates to the same period in the mid fifteenth century. Timmaṇṇa Daṇ(ḍa)nāyaka is specifically named as the renovator of Melukote in one inscription (Vasantha 1991, 65).

From an architectural perspective, the only other significant addition of the Vijayanagara period is an unfinished detached *gopura* to the south of the Celuva temple, that may have marked the entrance to the town's fortifications that have otherwise disappeared. The *gopura* is aligned with the main north-south street through the town onto which the Celuva temple faces, rather than being axially aligned with the temple's entrance. This is the base of a very substantial *gopura* (c. 30 by 20 metres), on the scale of the largest sixteenth century ones elsewhere in southern India, such as Kṛṣṇadevarāya's monumental

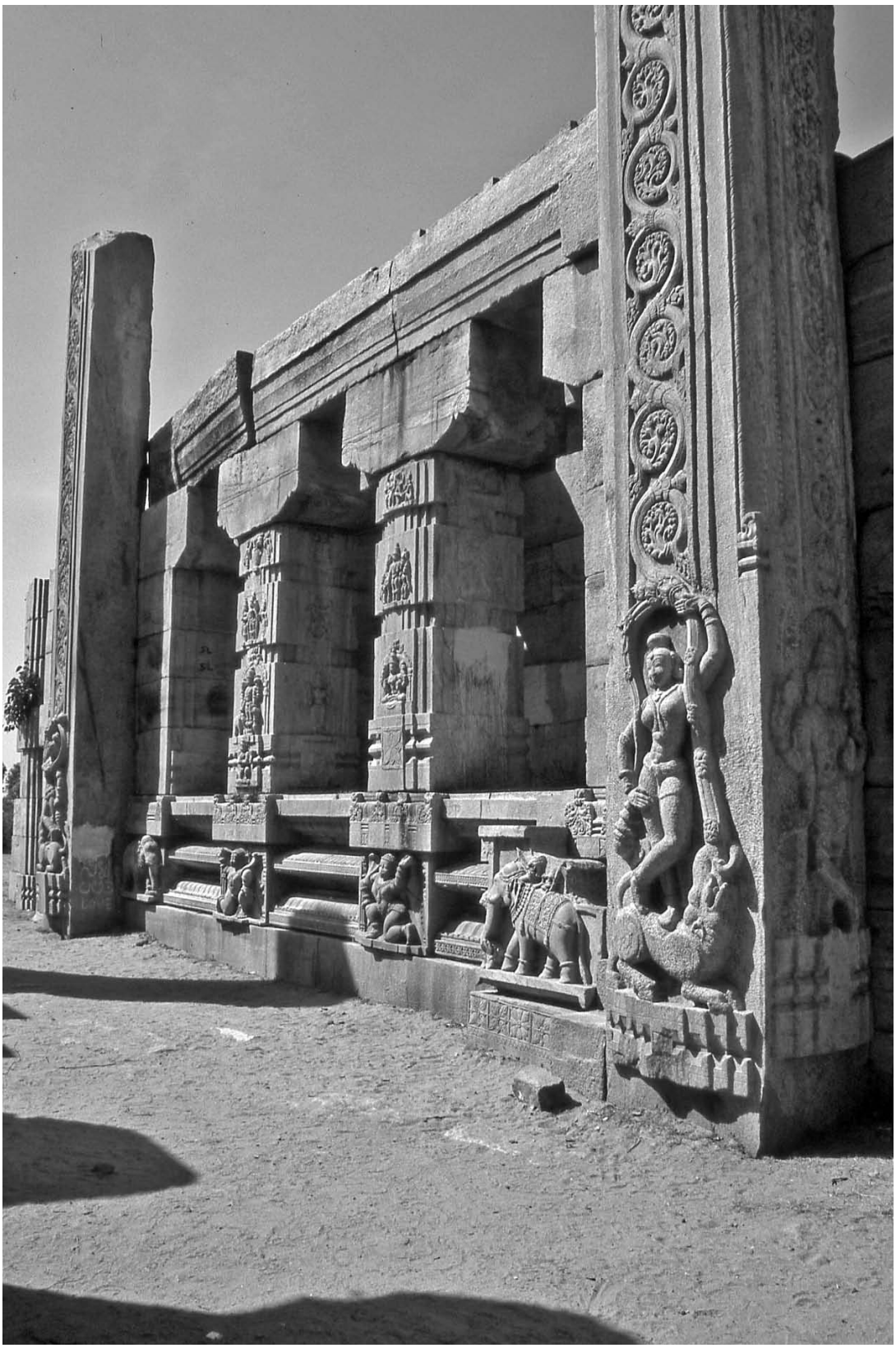

Figure 4: Gateway of detached south gopura at Melukote

detached *gopura* at Kalahasti or the four outermost *gopura*s of the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple at Madurai. It is bigger than any of the surviving *gopura*s at Vijayanagara. The sculpture of women standing on *makara*s and the *dvārapāla*s that face north and south on the gateway jambs, together with further reliefs of deities on the columns of the gateway recess all support an early sixteenth century date for this *gopura* (Michell and Vasantha both suggest an earlier date in the fifteenth century, contemporary with the *tāyār* shrine's *raṅgamaṇḍapa*: Michell 2001, 67 and Vasantha 1991, 65)(*Figure 4*). The epigraphic record at this temple testifies to the sustained patronage by royal figures, the king himself or his subordinates, throughout the Vijayanagara period with a peak of activity in the early sixteenth century, and indeed through the period of Wodeyar rule from nearby Mysore in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Vasantha 1991, 200-214).

THE HOYSALAS AND VIJAYANAGARA HISTORICAL MEMORY

Southern Karnataka was ruled over by the Hoysalas from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, and at times the extent of their rule included northern Karnataka and parts of the Tamil country. Together with the Kakatiya, Later Calukya, Chola and Pandyan dynasties, the Hoysalas were one of the most powerful polities in southern India prior to the rise of Vijayanagara. This all ended following the Khalji invasion of southern India from northern India in 1310, which irreparably damaged Hoysala claims to dominance over the Karnata region. The dynasty lingered on, in conflict with the rising power of Vijayanagara, until the death of the final Hoysala king, Ballāla IV in 1346.

Whilst not wishing to enter the contentious area of the origins of the Vijayanagara polity and its institutions here, it is worth considering the position of the Hoysalas in Karnata historical memory in the Vijayanagara period. In neighbouring Andhra, Cynthia Talbot has noted that the Kakatiyas continued to be invoked as political forebears for warrior lineages into the early nineteenth century (Talbot 2001, 174-207). Shrinivas Ritti and B. R. Gopal suggest that the Vijayanagara rulers took pride in stating that they ruled over the erstwhile Hoysala kingdom of Viṣṇuvārdhana (c. 1108-42). They cite two inscriptions that suggest that Hoysala-*nādu* (*–deśa* or *-rājya*) was retained as an administrative region with Dorasamudra, the Hoysala capital at Halebid, as the headquarters into the later fifteenth century (Ritti & Gopal 2004, lxx; *EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 519 dated S. 1282/ 1359 and *EC* n.s. vol. 5 TN 237, dated S. 1404/1482). A further inscription dated to 1514 states that the god Keśava in Belur still 'shines in the middle of the great Hoysaladeśa' during the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (EC n.s. vol. 9, no. 93).

In addition to epigraphic references to Hoysala memory, one element in this continuity of rule could be the continued patronage, maintenance or expansion of Hoysala sacred sites. With the exception of Belur, however, Hoysala temples are striking for the absence of later additions. In his detailed study, S. Settar states that of the "estimated 3000 records issued by the Hoysalas, not less than 1,674 transact matters relating to construction, renovation and maintenance of about 1,521 temples located in about 958 centres"; of these around 430 temples are listed as surviving in perfect or ruined condition (Settar 1992, preface and appendix I). Amongst this great number of temples built in southern Karnataka during Hoysala rule from c. 1006-1346, none of the more substantial, well-known temples such as those at Halebid, Javagal, Amritapur, Harihar, Belvadi, Arsikere or Somnathpur became the nucleus for a later temple complex of substantial proportions. Settar mentions fewer than twenty Hoysala temples with even modest additions or expansion in later periods.

The Cenna Keśava (Viṣṇu) temple at Belur is one of the best-known Hoysala monuments, visited by many and discussed in most books on Indian art. It was dedicated in 1117 by Viṣṇuvārdhana, following his defeat of the Chola viceroy of Talakkad, and is one of the largest, earliest and indeed finest Hoysala temples (*EC* o.s. vol. 5, no. 58; n.s. vol. 9, no. 16). Discussions and illustrations of this temple tend to

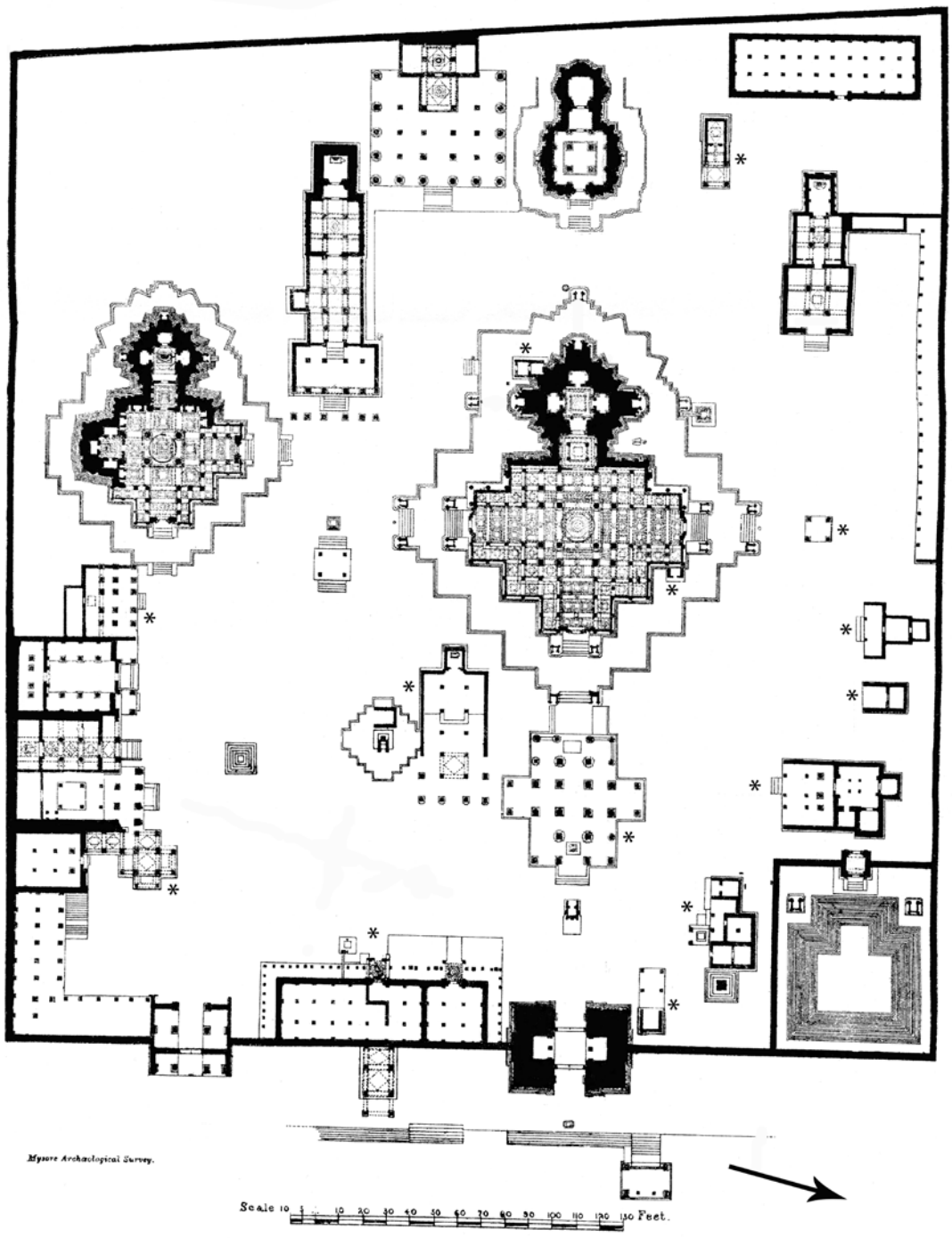

Figure 5: Plan of the Cennakeśava temple at Belur (adapted from Narasimhachar 1919)

focus on the main east-facing shrine (*Figure 5*). This has a stellate *vimāna* and attached cruciform *maṇḍapa* on a high basement with steps on three sides. The original presence and form of the superstructure is the subject of debate, but a *Nāgara* form in the *Bhūmija* mode seems probable (Hardy 1995, 287). Earlier scholars such as James Fergusson, and indeed the Mysore Archaeological Department in the 1930s, deemed its presence incongruous citing the periodic reconstructions for its present appearance. Inscriptions dated 1387 and 1736 record the renovation of the pinnacle (*kalaśa*) of the tower (*EC* o.s. vol. 5, nos. 63-64 = *EC* n.s. vol. 9, nos. 12-13). In 1774 the superstructure appears to have been rebuilt (*EC* o.s. vol. 5, no. 65 = *EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 14); such a *Bhūmija* superstructure remained until the conservation work in the 1930s. Photographs of the temple showing the intact earlier superstructure were taken by many European photographers in the 1850s and 1860s, such as Henry Dixon, Andrew Neill and Edmund Lyon (see British Library/India Office Library photograph 1000/24 (2333) and *Mss Eur* G91 (213b); *EC* o.s. (1902), xxviii for an 1865 photograph; Barnett 1913, 176). The exterior narrative and iconic sculpture is superlative; many accounts stress the presence of the elegant bracket figures under the parapet, many with inscriptions of the names of the sculptors (Collyer 1990; Del Bonta 1981).

What is often omitted from briefer discussions is that this temple is not an isolated structure, but is set in an enclosure with many other structures (*Figure 6*). Some of these are contemporary with the main shrine, such as the Kappa Cennikarāya temple directly south of the main shrine, also dedicated to Nārāyaṇa, by queen Śāntaladevī. The names of both king and queen appear in Sanskrit on the respective plinths of the images in each shrine (*EC* o.s. vol. 15, 254 = *EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 1 and *EC* o.s. vol. 15, no. 275 = *EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 94). In the later twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, during the reigns of Narasiṁha I (1142-73) and Ballālla II (1173-1220), the stone screens were added to the open *maṇḍapa* of the main shrine, the deep tank with miniature shrines built alongside it in the northeast corner of the enclosure and the enclosure wall erected (*EC* o.s. vol. 5, nos. 2, 71-72 = *EC* n.s. vol. 9, nos. 143, 168).

But Belur is striking for the many accumulated additions from later centuries after the decline of Hoysala authority that give visual testimony to the continuity of use at the site. The Vijayanagara period entrance is the most prominent later feature. This *gopura* is aligned with the main shrine on the east side and is a relatively plain example, with shallow empty niches and little elaboration on the exterior of the stone basement (*Figure 7*). But the gateway jambs have very worn images of women standing on *makara*s holding a creeper that continues over to the other side. An incomplete inscription in Sanskrit and Kannada, on three detached slabs and not on the *gopura* itself, is dated *Śaka* 1319 (c. 1397) in the reign of Harihara II (*EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 144 = *EC* o.s. vol. 5, no. 3). This long inscription eulogises both Harihara and his general Gundadaṇḍa at great length. As the services in the temple had been reduced, Harihara and his general restored the rituals performed in Viṣṇuvārdhana's time and renovated the temple. The reconstruction of the seven-storey *gopura* that had earlier been destroyed by the Bahmani general, Gaṅga Sālar is mentioned in detail; he has been identified with Bahman Shah Hasan (1347-59/60), the founder of the Bahmani Sultanate (Del Bonta 1981, 32). However, the present structure has five not seven storeys, if the superstructure above the base is considered, and together with the gateway's sculpture suggest a date in the later fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

To the rear of the main shrine on each side are two goddess shrines in the usual Śrīvaiṣṇava manner, dedicated to Raṅganāyaki (northwest) and Saumyanāyaki (southwest); between them is a small shrine dedicated to Vīranārāyaṇa. Neither shrine are well-designed, though clearly different from their Hoysala-period neighbours. Though no inscriptions can confirm this, these shrines are undoubtedly fifteenth or sixteenth century additions to the site. The southern shrine has a completely plain *vimāna* and a very basic Tamil Drāviḍa *mahāmaṇḍapa* entered through a very wide door. The northern shrine is similarly built in Tamil Drāviḍa but unusually incorporates *spolia* from one, or perhaps several, earlier

Figure 6: East side of temple enclosure at Belur

temples: distinctively Hoysala sculptures, mostly Vaiṣṇava, are arranged around the walls of the new structure in two rows (*Figure 8*). Three types of re-use of stone may be distinguished: casual, functional and iconic (Stocker and Everson 1990; Eaton 2000). The casual re-use of stone disregards its original function and re-uses it as rubble. Functional re-use retains the intent of the original object, such as a column or capital. The third category re-uses stone for an iconic, didactic or meaningful purpose, where further associations are intended such as general antiquarianism, or the revival of a particular religious, imperial or dynastic past. Whilst the re-use of an existing sacred site is common practice in South Asia, the deliberate re-use of material from earlier buildings in a new structure is unusual in India. The best-known examples are the foundations of 'conquest' mosques by the early Sultanate rulers in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries in Delhi, Ajmer and Warangal, when the columns of destroyed temples were reused for the colonnades of the mosque courtyard (Flood 2005, Hillenbrand 1988, Patel 2004, Wagoner and Rice 2001). Pragmatic functional re-use may explain the incorporation of Hoysala sculpture into a later temple; it was cheaper and easier to incorporate ready-carved sculpture into the new structure. But the use of *spolia* may suggest an attempt to evoke continuity

Figure 7: Gopura from west side, Belur

Figure 8: Raṅganāyaki shrine on northwest side of main shrine, Belur

with the Hoysala past (whether in the sixteenth or early twentieth century), even if stylistic continuity of the whole structure is far from successful to the modern viewer.

Many other pavilions and small shrines filled the remainder of the walled enclosure entered through the two eastern gateways; this is best seen on the plan published in 1919 with annotations (*) indicating the structures now removed. A report on the state of the temple was prepared in 1922 by the Archaeological Survey of Mysore, and a programme of conservation was conducted from 1928 through the 1930s. This resulted in many of these later structures being cleared away and new structures built in their place. A photograph in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1921 shows the area between the main shrine and the *gopura* before the clearance (*ARMAD* 1921, plate 1). Immediately to the west and south of the tank, four small shrines have been removed; a colonnade has been built all along the north wall with around thirty stele and spare sculptures from the site built into the wall. Most have inscriptions in Kannada; there is one in Sanskrit. A small relief of a royal couple in sixteenth century attire within a curved arch is placed in this wall, the *circa* forty-centimetre high male figure wearing the distinctive *kuḷḷāyi*, the Persian-derived headwear that is characteristic feature of Vijayanagara royal dress from the late fifteenth to late sixteenth century (Verghese 1991, Wagoner 1996b)(*Figure 9*). The original location of this portrait group is uncertain, though Narasimhachar locates the stone slab near the southern gate in the east wall facing the Kappa Cennikarāya temple (Narasimhachar 1919, 15). A golden Garuḍa *staṁbha* (column) was erected in 1514 before the main temple, though this is now missing (*ARMAD* 1937, 147; *EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 93). A cruciform *maṇḍapa* enclosing the Garuḍa image facing the main shrine has also been removed, along with another east-facing shrine to the south of this. Either side of the *gopura* an office has been built to the north and the buildings on the south side completely removed and replaced with a modern series of shrines to the Vaiṣṇava poet-saints, the *āḻvār*s. Two further small *maṇḍapa*s built against the south wall have been removed, together with small shrines built in front of a

south-facing Narasiṁha image on the southwest side of the main temple's *vimāna* and an east-facing Raṅganātha image by the north doorway, both good examples of an exterior sculpture later becoming the focus of worship.

Outside the temple enclosure and five hundred metres to the south is a stepped festival tank, an irregular rectangle built into the corner of a natural lake. There is an off-centre *maṇḍapa* within the tank and three further *maṇḍapa*s and a shrine around the sides. The development of such stepped tanks for the celebration of a float festival is common for the temples built in the sixteenth century at Vijayanagara and in the Tamil country. Two inscriptions dated c. 1524 around the tank record the gift of two villages by Basavappa Nāyaka for the construction of a tank (*teppakola*) and a *vasanta maṇḍapa* for the celebration of a float-festival (*teppatirunāl*)(*EC* n.s. vol. 9, nos. 159 and 182 = *EC* o.s. vol. 5, no. 78). What is clear therefore is that Belur not a single period Hoysala site, for there are significant Vijayanagara-period architectural additions demonstrating continuity of use at the site, and that much has been altered and cleared away since the 1930s, to leave the open enclosure seen today.

Figure 9: Donor couple in añjalimudrā wearing sixteenth-century dress, Belur

Given the absence of later additions at many other Hoysala temples, did they fall out of use, which would explain the lack of additions? Some perhaps did, but the record of inscriptions at some of these sites suggests the continued use. The record of inscriptions at Belur is of interest: though many are uncertainly dated, of the total number of 182 inscriptions listed in *Epigraphia Carnatica* (new series), 29 date between 1387 and 1588 and 28 date between the seventeenth and nineteenth century. Some of these have been mentioned above where they are associated with architectural additions such as the *gopura*, Garuḍa pillar and repairs to the *śikhara*. A thorough study of the epigraphic record at Belur through to the Wodeyar period in the nineteenth century would be valuable; for now it is worth noting other inscriptions that refer to Vijayanagara period activity that include repairs to the roof of the *śukanāsa* before the main shrine by Kampanna on the orders of Harihara II in 1381 (*EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 3 = *EC* o.s. vol. 5, no. 52;); the erection of a stone lamp-pillar (*dīpastambha*) in 1414 for the *kārtikka* festival of lights and a swing (*uyyale*) for the swing-festival (*dolotsava*)(*EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 90 = *EC* o.s. vol. 5, no. 14); and the construction of the *yāgasālai* in 1484 (*EC* n.s. vol. 9, no. 139 = *EC* o.s. vol. 5, no. 13). Many of the others refer to donations of land to support the temple's daily and periodic rituals.

At Halebid, by contrast, only three of the 122 recorded inscriptions post-date the Hoysala collapse in the 1340s, one dated 1355 and two more c. 1382 (*EC* n.s. vol. 9, nos. 270-272 = *EC* o.s. vol. 5, nos. 95-97); there is no indication of any repairs or architectural additions at Halebid from the fourteenth century or later to suggest continuity of use. A similar pattern may be recorded at many other Hoysala sites with a few records of donations in the later fourteenth century but little after that.

Figure 10: Vidyaśaṅkara temple at Sringeri from the west

Another temple where the epigraphic record provides evidence for the continuity of use and patronage into the Vijayanagara period is the Harihareśvara temple at Harihar (*ASMAR* 1932, 50-53 and 1937, 71; Dhaky 1996, 164-166). The deity Harihareśvara is known at the site from about 1100: six inscriptions now stored in the temple compound date to the mid 12th century (1148-72; *EC* o.s. vol. 11,

Dg. 32, 33, 35, 39-41). But the present east-facing temple was founded in 1224 by Polava, a general of the Hoysala king, Narasiṁha II according to an inscription on a detached slab that offers great praise for the temple with its 115 golden *kalaśa*s (*EC* o.s. vol. 11 Dg 36). It consists of a main shrine with a small, attached *maṇḍapa* and beyond this a very large open hall of a stepped diamond plan, all built in the Later Chalukyan tradition. Four decades later in 1268, a 5-storey *gopura* or *mahādvāra* was added on the east side by Soma, the same Hoysala minister of Narasiṁha III, who founded the Keśava temple at Somnathpur (*EC* o.s. vol. 11, Dg. 36; cf. vol. 3, TN 97 for a similar inscription at Somnathpur). Only a few Hoysala temple gateways survive, such as here at Harihar or at Belvadi, and these consist of a stone basement but no elaborate superstructure like their Tamil counterparts. It is unclear if the Hoysala *gopura* is the same type of structure as the Tamil version seen at Belur, for example. A further Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa shrine was added in 1280 (*EC* o.s. vol. 11, Dg. 59).

That the temple at Harihar remained an important site of pilgrimage in the sixteenth century is clear from a long inscription on a stele in the Virpākṣa temple at Hampi that outlines Kṛṣṇadevarāya's tour of south India in 1516 (*Epigraphia Indica* vol. 1, 361-371). Of the fifteen pilgrimage sites mentioned, Harihar is one of the three sites with Hampi and Gokarna that are in Karnataka. The remainder are in Andhra (Srisailam, Mahanandi, Ahobilam, Kalahasti, Venkatadri [Tirupati]) and the Tamil country (Kanchipuram, Chidambaram, Tiruvannamalai, Srirangam, Kumbakonam, Ramesvaram). At Harihar itself there are no structural additions from the fourteenth century or later but, as at Belur, many inscriptions on huge flat stele are placed around the temple courtyard; two have reliefs at the top with royal figures wearing the distinctive sixteenth century *kuḻlayi*. The dates of the eleven recorded inscriptions span the Vijayanagara period from 1379 to 1562; seven date to the mid-sixteenth century (*EC* o.s. vol. 11, Dg 34 (1379), Dg 68 (1380), Dg 23 (1410), Dg 29 (1424), Dg 37 (1519), Dg 28 (1530), Dg 31 (1531), Dg 27 (1538), Dg 24 (1539), Dg 22 (1554), Dg 30 (1562)). Building a large *maṇḍapa* or *gopura*, or dedicating a new shrine to a deity favoured by the imperial centre, is a more visible statement of patronage than a land grant. But inscriptions in Karnataka are recorded on large slabs up to 3 or 4 meters high and 1.5 m wide. With the addition of the Vijayanagara imperial emblem (the boar, sword, sun and moon) and royal figures in Vijayanagara dress at the top, these stele combining text and image became bold statements of patronage in the public arena of the temple courtyard. It is important therefore to consider inscriptions as artefacts and not just as texts: how they are written and displayed, and for what audience, needs to be considered alongside their textual content.

Another issue worth considering, that Belur highlights, is the possibility that there have been later additions at many of the Hoysala sites that have subsequently been cleared. Belur has been perceived as a *Hoysala* temple alone and so nothing must obscure this recognition, hence the removal rather than repair of dilapidated structures from the site (for example, see the comments in *ASMAR* 1936, 18). The scholarly emphasis on the origins and foundations of temple sites, and a dynastic approach that pigeon-holes temples into restricted periods, often belies the long view of a site. The American Institute of Indian Studies' *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* is a good example, for the individual shrines of the Cenna Keśava temple at Belur are discussed separately with no site plan and no indication of any post-Hoysala history (Dhaky 1996). In studying the Indian temple we need to consider more than the physical fabric, but its relationship to the wider landscape. The impact of this scholarly emphasis on earlier material means that 'later additions' have been either largely ignored by scholars focussed on one period at a site, or have often been physically swept away by well-meaning archaeological and conservational activities. This reduction of a site's long history to a single period coincides with an aesthetic desire to see monuments as a free-standing mass to be viewed (and photographed) from a single exterior viewpoint, in contrast to a sacred, ritual space to be moved through. It is important therefore to

remember that the archaeology of memory may also involve the erasure and forgetting of the past, the abandonment of earlier sacred sites or clearance of later additions that impede the clear perception of a favoured commemoration of the past.

ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION: 'HOYSALA' DESIGN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The relationship of Vijayanagara to the past may then have been expressed in the continuity of use of some sacred sites over others, the content of inscriptions, their deployment at certain sites and their visual design. Vijayanagara interest in particular temples may also have been expressed in the expansion of existing temple sites and the creation of new ones. What and where was constructed is important, but so is the nature of the design, the choices made by the artists and patrons in their creative use of the past. Given the limited evidence for Vijayanagara-period architecture in central-southern Karnataka outside the capital, however, it is difficult to assess how, for example, the Hoysala tradition of architecture related to the sixteenth century 'imperial' tradition.

One unique example of the Hoysala tradition persisting in a later temple, following the fifteenth century adoption of the Tamil Drāviḍa tradition as the 'imperial' standard, is the mid sixteenth century Śaiva Vidyāśaṅkara temple at Sringeri in the wooded hill region of the western ghats of southwest Karnataka on the border with Kerala (*ASMAR* 1936, 25-36). This is the location of one of the *maṭhas* traditionally founded by Śaṅkarācārya in the ninth century. The Sangama brothers visited the site in 1346 and were closely connected with the *ācārya*s of Sringeri (Kulke 1985). As George Michell has emphasised, however, though inscriptions from the later fourteenth century through the sixteenth century mention the worship of Vidyāśaṅkara and the presence of a temple at Sringeri, none provide clear evidence for the date of the structure seen today; he dates the present temple to the mid-sixteenth century under the local patronage of the *ācārya*s rather than one of the Tuluva *rāya*s (Michell 1995 and 2001, 254-257).

In its design this granite temple is unique, and unusually large in plan and elevation (*Figure 10*). The *vimāna* and attached *maṇḍapa* are staggered to create a figure-of-eight plan with almost semicircular east and west ends. They are raised on a high moulded platform around four feet high, with sharp mouldings in the Karnata, rather than Tamil, Drāviḍa manner that follows the outline of the staggered *vimāna* and *maṇḍapa*. A distinctive, high tower rises in three storeys (*tala*s) above the *vimāna*, with a prominent *śukanāsa* on the east side; niches containing images face the cardinal directions on each of these upper levels. The square *garbhagṛha* underneath has multiple surrounding subsidiary chambers rather than a *pradakśināpatha*: in the main shrine is the Vidyāśaṅkara *liṅga* with side shrines, that also face east, containing images of Gaṇeśa (south) and Durgā (north). The clearest debt to contemporary sixteenth century Tuluva practice may be seen within the *maṇḍapa*. Entered through three doors, there are twelve composite columns each with lion-faced *yāḷi*s with riders attached (two at the corners), that are a sixteenth-century Deccani adaptation of the Tamil Drāviḍa column (Branfoot 2002) around the circular relief on the floor; these support deep *puṣpapotikā* bracket-capitals and a stepped ceiling with a deep central sculpted lotus with surrounding parrots.

But the exterior elevation synthesises elements of Hoysala and Tuluva temple design. The elevation of Hoysala temples may be divided into two main types. The first has a sharply-moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* alone and staggered walls punctuated by niches containing figural sculptures (e.g. Arsikere, Amritapura, Belvadi). The second, larger and more ornate type is raised on a wide platform that follows the staggered or rotated elevation of the *vimāna* (e.g. Belur, Halebid, Javagal, Somnathpur). The Drāviḍa moulding sequence of the *adhiṣṭhāna* is replaced with a series of five or more bands of sculpture that usually include rows of elephants, lions, *haṁsa*s, *makara*s, cavalry, and scrolling vegetation. The wall of the *vimāna* above these bands of sculpture are filled with high-relief images of deities, each around two feet high, all the way round rather than in distinct niches.

Figure 11: Elevation of eastern end, Sringeri

It is this latter type of elevation – high platform, narrow bands of relief sculpture around the base, rows of large deities filling the wall - that the Vidyāśaṅ kara temple at Sringeri adapts three-hundred years after its earlier development by the Hoysalas further east (*Figure 11*). The base (*adhiṣṭhāna*) is very high and includes five rows of relief sculpture that alternate between the usual Drāviḍa mouldings (*kumuda, kapota*, *paṭṭika*) seen in other sixteenth-century temples. The lowest relief panel (*upāna*) has rows of horses and attendants, like for example the similarly dated Viṭṭhala temple at Vijayanagara. The reliefs above have elephants, then *vyāla*s, followed by narrative reliefs including the *Kirātārjunīya* myth and Śaṅkarācārya teaching his pupils, and at the top various *gaṇa*s, dancers and musicians. A dromedary in place of an elephant on the northwest side is a reminder of the burgeoning Indian Ocean trade in the sixteenth century, with horses and perhaps camels too coming from the Persian Gulf to India. It is the prominence of these long reliefs that are reminiscent of earlier Hoysala practice.

The walls are also similarly designed: the more elaborate Hoysala temples have large sculpted images of myriad deities all round the *vimāna* walls. At Sringeri images, each around one metre high, continue all round the temple's *vimāna* and *maṇḍapa* facing the cardinal directions: over eighty images of deities and other figures ornament the temple. The iconographic programme is worth detailed study: here it is worth noting the distinctive presence of images of royal figures wearing the Persian-derived *kulḷāyi* amongst the many Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva images (*Figure 12*), that is such a distinctive feature of sixteenth century temple sculpture (Branfoot 2007). These sculptures are framed by the engaged columns at the corners of each staggered projection, but there are typical Drāviḍa niches with *kūṭa*s above arranged three to a side on the north and south.

The hanging stone chains and *yāḷi* balustrades to the six staircases all round further connect this unusual temple to the wider architecture of sixteenth century southern India.

Figure 12: Relief figures wearing kulḷāyi at eastern end of Vidyāśaṅkara temple, Sringeri

CONCLUSION

Whilst this survey of Vijayanagara period architecture in the interior of modern Karnataka is necessarily brief, it is worth concluding with a few thoughts for further research. Existing research on Vijayanagara architecture has naturally focussed on the intensive activity at the capital. This chapter has demonstrated that there is comparatively little outside the great imperial centre until the early to mid-sixteenth century and then only in certain areas and not evenly across the empire. Though taxation within the Vijayanagara empire is poorly understood, the patterns of temple construction suggest a concentration of resources at the centre; Tamilnadu in the same period demonstrates a similar pattern with little architectural activity in the fifteenth century and an expansion in the sixteenth (Branfoot 2007). Temple construction may be considered as a political act, temples being essential for the maintenance of authority. But

this is not the case everywhere at all times: only some of the Vijayanagara emperors were great patrons. Despite the expanding authority of the Vijayanagara empire throughout southern India in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is the period of Tuluva and Aravidu rule and the successor states of the Bedas, Wodeyars and Nayakas in the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century that are the most important for temple construction and patronage in southern India after the thirteenth century.

One reason why few temples were built during the Vijayanagara period across interior Karnataka may have been because of the great number already established in earlier periods. But only a few of these were even added to, a pattern familiar in the Tamil region: Melukote and Belur are two of the rare and important examples. A consideration of later additions highlights the importance of the 'long view' in the study of the Hindu temple: some sites are built all at once and never added or even used later; others develop gradually and cannot be adequately understood through a dynastic lens that emphasises only the foundation. When surveying the patronage of a temple in material terms, we must include not only the visual impact of architecture but also inscriptions: the emphasis on their historical, textual value often underplays their materiality, reinforced in the sixteenth century not only by their large scale and positioning, but additional relief sculpture such as the Vijayanagara dynastic emblem or relief images of donors in contemporary dress.

In understanding why some sites were favoured by later donors, and other apparently abandoned we must also consider the wider sacred landscape and any sectarian preference by Vijayanagara-period patrons. Śiva as Virūpākṣa was the 'state deity' with inscriptions across southern India frequently concluding with a dedication to the god. But there is no parallel move to spread the worship of this deity across the South as a means of imperial centralisation by building numerous new temples to Virūpākṣa. With the notable exception of a new temple dedicated to Virūpākṣa in a small village of the same name east of Kolar on the Karnataka-Andhra border in 1431 (*EC* o.s. vol. 10, Mb 96), this imperial protector deity remains rooted at Vijayanagara. Under Vijayanagara patronage it was Śrīaiṣṇava temples that received greatest support in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: this may partially explain the architectural additions at the *divyadeśa* at Melukote, and perhaps Belur too.

The absence of great numbers of Vijayanagara-period temples in interior Karnataka makes any assessment of the establishment of a clear, uniform 'imperial style' of architecture in the fifteenth and sixteenth century uncertain. There is clearly some degree of visual uniformity in temple style across the diverse regions of the vast empire, but regional patterns persist even if not to the same extent as the variety evident of the temples of the Kakatiyas, Cholas and Hoysalas are juxtaposed, for example. If any sense of unity in visual language was achieved over the course of two centuries of temple construction in southern India between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries it is to be seen not in the monumental elevations of the temples, but in the small-scale relief sculpture of deities and other figures that cover the columns and bases of temples across large areas of the sixteenth century empire.

REFERENCES

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department

Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Report

Epigraphia Carnatica (Old series 1889-1905, New Series 1977-1990)(abbreviated *EC* o.s./n.s.)

Epigraphia Indica

Indian Antiquary

Alcock, Susan. *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscapes, Monuments and Memories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Barnett, L.D. 1913. *Antiquities of India* (London: Philip Lee Warner).

Branfoot, Crispin. 2002. "'Expanding Form': The Architectural Sculpture of the South Indian Temple c.1500-1700." *Artibus Asiae* 63.2, 189-245.

Branfoot, Crispin. 2007. *Gods on the Move: architecture and ritual in the south Indian temple*. London: British Academy & Society for South Asian Studies.

Branfoot, Crispin, and Anna L. Dallapiccola. 2005 "Temple architecture in Bhatkal and the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition in sixteenth century coastal Karnataka." *Artibus Asiae* 65.2, 253-308.

Collyer, Kelleson. 1990. *The Hoysala artists: their identity and style*. Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums.

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dallapiccola, Anna L., John M. Fritz, George Michell, and S. Rajasekhara. 1992. *The Rāmachandra Temple at Vijayanagara*. New Delhi: AIIS and Manohar Publications.

Del Bonta, Robert J. 1981. "The Madanakais at Belur." In *Kaladarsana: American Studies in the Art of India*, edited by Joanna Williams, Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing with American Institute of Indian Studies, 27-33.

Dhaky, M.A., ed. 1996. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India, Upper Dravidadesa, Later Phase, AD 973-1326*. New Delhi: AIIS & IGNCA.

Eaton, Tim. 2000. *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing.

Flood, Finbarr B. "Refiguring Islamic Iconoclasm: Image Mutilation and Aesthetic Innovation in the Early Mosque." In *Negating the Image: Case Studies of Past Iconoclasm*, edited by Anne McLanan and Jeffrey Johnson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Foekema, Gerard. 1994. *Hoysala Architecture: Medieval temples of southern Karnataka built during Hoysala rule*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Books & Books.

2003a. *Architecture decorated with architecture: Later medieval temples of Karnataka*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

2003b. *Calukya architecture: medieval temples of northern Karnataka built during the rule of the Calukya of Kalyana and thereafter, AD 1000-1300*. 3 vols. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Hillenbrand, Robert. "Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmir." *Iran* (1988): 105-117.

Kṛṣṇa, M. H. "The Vidyasankara Temple, Sringeri." In *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, 289-294. Dharwar: Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Committee, 1936.

Kulke, Herman. 1985. "Maharajas, Mahants and historians: reflections on the early historiography of Vijayanagara and Sringeri." In *Vijayanagara: City and Empire*, edited by Anna L. Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel Ave-Lallemant, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 120-143.

Meister, Michael, and M.A. Dhaky, eds. 1986. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India, Upper Dravidadesa, early phase AD 550-1075*. Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Oxford University Press.

Michell, George. 1975. *An architectural description and analysis of the early Western Calukyan temples*. 2 vols. London: AARP.

1994. "Revivalism as the Imperial Mode: Religious Architecture During the Vijayanagara Period." In *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past*, edited by Catherine B Asher and Thomas Metcalf, New Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 187-197.

1995. "Dating the Vidyasankara Temple at Sringeri." In *Sri Nagabhinandanam: Dr M. S. Nagaraja Rao Festschrift*, edited by L. K. Srinivasan and S. Nagaraju, Bangalore, 269-278.

Michell, George, ed. 2001. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India, Drāviḍadesa, Later Phase ca. AD 1289-1798*. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies.

Narasimhachar, L. 1919. *The Kesava Temple at Belur*. Bangalore: Mysore Government Press.

Patel, Alka. "Towards alternative receptions of Ghurid architecture in North India (late 12th-early 13th century CE)." *Archives of Asian Art* 54 (2004), 35-61.

Ritti, Shrinivas, and B.R. Gopal, eds. 2004. *Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Rulers: Volume 1. Inscriptions of the Rulers of the Sangama Dynasty (1336 AD - 1485 AD)*. 5 vols. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research & Northern Book Centre.

Settar, S. *The Hoysala Temples*. 1992. 2 vols. Bangalore: Kala Yatra Publications.

Stocker, David, and Paul Everson. "Rubbish recycled: a study of the re-use of stone in Lincolnshire." In *Stone: Quarrying and Building in England AD 43-1525*, edited by David Parsons, 83-101. Chichester: Phillimore and Royal Archaeological Institute, 1990.

Suresh, K.M. *Temples of Karnataka*. 2003. 2 vols. Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan.

Van Dyke, Ruth M., and Susan Alcock, eds. *Archaeologies of Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.

Verghese, Anila. 1991. "Court Attire of Vijayanagara (from a study of monuments)." *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* LXXXII nos. 1-2 (January-June 1991), 43-61.

Wagoner, Phillip B. 1996a. "From Paṁpā's Crossing to the Place of Lord Virūpākṣa: Architecture, Cult and Patronage at Hampi before the founding of Vijayanagara." In *Vijayanagara Progress of Research 1988-91*, 141-174. Mysore: Mysore Archaeological Department.

1996b. "'Sultan among Hindu Kings': Dress, Titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara." *Journal of Asian Studies* 55.4, 851-880.

2001 "Kannada *Kalla Upparige* (Stone Palace): Multistoried Entrance Pavilions in Pre- and Early Vijayanagara Architecture." *Ars Orientalis* 31, 167-83.

2006. "Reviving the Chalukya Past in the 16th Century Deccan: Archaeological and Literary Perspectives." Paper delivered at the British Academy, London [forthcoming in *South Asian Studies* vol. 23].

Wagoner, Phillip B., and John Henry Rice. "From Delhi to the Deccan: Newly Discovered Tughluq Monuments at Warangal-Sultanpur and the Beginnings of Indo-Islamic Architecture in Southern India." *Artibus Asiae* 61.1 (2001), 77-117.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Daud Ali was very generous with the fruits of his own research on Belur and the Hoysalas. I would also like to thank Adam Hardy, Jennifer Howes, Nigel James and Phillip Wagoner for their assistance in the completion of this article.