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Abbreviations Used in Captions:

A.I.I.S. American Institute of Indian Studies, Center for Art & Archaeology, Gurgaon

IFP Institut Français de Pondichéry/Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient

- 1 Incised foundation bricks (after D. MITRA 1973–74, Fig. 2) Sagrahawa (Nepal), Structure 8, "mediaeval"
- **Kubera** (photo: A.I.I.S.)
 Gosna Khera, c. 1st century A.D.,
 buff sandstone, H: 27 cm, W: 12.5 cm
 Government Museum, Mathura, no. 39.2856
- 3 Vāyu on Anantaśayana Viśnu panel (photo: Karel R. van Kooij) Deogadh, Gupta Temple, southern exterior wall, c. 500–550 A.D.
- 4 Fragment of a panel with four *lokapālas* (?) (photo: Linden-Museum, Stuttgart)
 North India, c. 2nd century A.D.
 terracotta, H: 31 cm
 Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, no. SA37028L
- 5 Inscribed, fragmented panel with four *lokapālas* (?) (photo: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden) probably Mathurā region, *c*. 1st–2nd centuries A.D. mottled red sandstone, H: 28 cm, W: 27 cm, inscribed: 1. *balavasuputr[eṇa]*, 2. *[pi]tā priyaṃta bha...* Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, no. 2498
- 6 Indra (photo: A.I.I.S.) Sitalāghāṭī, c. 4th century Government Museum, Mathura, no. 46.3226
- Agni (photo: A.I.I.S.)
 Mathurā District, c. 3rd century
 H: 20 cm, W: 9 cm
 Government Museum, Mathura, no. 42–43.3048
- 8 Skanda (left) and Agni (photo: A.I.I.S.) Katrā Kedaradeva/Mathurā, c. 3rd century mottled sandstone, H: 51 cm, W: 58 cm Government Museum, Mathura, no. 2883
- 9 'Churning of the Ocean' scene (lower tier) (after M.B. GARDE 1924–25: pl. XLIIId)
 Pawāyā (M.P.), toraņa fragment, c. 400–410 A.D.
 H: 67 cm, W: 195 cm
 Central Archaeological Museum, Gwalior
- 10 Viśņu surrounded by dikpālas (photo: A.I.I.S.) Bādāmi, Karnataka, Cave 3, central ceiling panel of vestibule, 578 A.D.
- 11 Indra surrounded by dancers and musicians (photo: A.I.I.S.)

 Bādāmi, Cave 3, second ceiling panel from the east, vestibule, 578 A.D.
- 12 Varuna surrounded by couples (photo: A.I.I.S.) Bādāmi, Cave 3, second ceiling panel from the west, vestibule, 578 A.D.
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 Bādāmi, Cave 3, third ceiling panel from the west, vestibule, 578 A.D.
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- 15 Indra (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
 Bādāmi, Cave 3, eastern ceiling medallion, main hall, 578 A.D.

- 16 Skanda (photo: Joachim K. Bautze) Bādāmi, Cave 3, southern ceiling medallion, main hall, 578 A.D.
- 17 Varuṇa (photo: Joachim K. Bautze) Bādāmi, Cave 3, western ceiling medallion, main hall, 578 A.D.
- **18 Kubera** (photo: Joachim K. Bautze) Bādāmi, Cave 3, northern ceiling medallion, main hall, 578 A.D.
- **19 Ardhanārīśvara Śiva panel** (photo: Otto Schorr) Elephanta, Cave 1, *c*. mid-6th century
- **20** Națeśa panel (photo: Gerd Mevissen) Elephanta, Cave 1, western annex, *c.* mid-6th century
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- 22 Națeśa panel (detail) (photo: Gerd Mevissen) Ellorā, Cave 21, east wall of southern annex, late 6th century
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- **Kubera** (?) Ālampur, Kumāra Brahmā Temple, near top of *śikhara*, north, *c*. 630 A.D.
- Yama (after Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Bombay 1922, pl. XXVa)
 Bhūmarā, Śiva Temple, loose gavākṣa (medium size),
 c. 520–530 A.D.
 H: 46 cm, W: 37 cm
 Allahabad Museum, no. 153
- 26 Kubera (after R.D. BANERJI 1924: pl. XIIIa) Bhūmarā, Śiva Temple, loose gavākşa (medium size), c. 520–530 A.D.
- 27 Kubera (extant fragment, same as in fig. 26) Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, provisional no. T 261 (in 1992)
- Daṇḍapāṇi (after Banerji 1924: pl. XIV c)
 Bhūmarā, Śiva Temple, loose gavākṣa (large size),
 c. 520–530 a.d.
 H: 60 cm, W: 79 cm
 Indian Museum, Calcutta
- 29 Agni Nālandā, Stone Temple no. 2, base frieze, east, Panel 7, 7th century
- 30 Kubera (photo: A.I.I.S.) Nālandā, Stone Temple no. 2, base frieze, east, Panel 14, 7th century
- 31 Vāyu Nālandā, Stone Temple no. 2, base frieze, east, Panel 19, 7th century
- 32 Indra and his elephant? Nālandā, Stone Temple no. 2, base frieze, east, Panels 22–23, 7th century
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 34 Apri (chata Carl Mariana)
- 34 Agni (photo: Gerd Mevissen) Mundeśvarī Hill, ruined temple, 6th–7th centuries H: 43 cm, W: 33 cm State Archaeological Museum, Patna, no. 6011

35 Daṇḍapāṇi (photo: Gerd Mevissen)
Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, ruined temple, 6th–7th centuries
H: 42.5 cm

State Archaeological Museum, Patna, no. 6004

36 Soma (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, ruined Temple, cornerstone,
6th–7th centuries
H: 30 cm
State Archaeological Museum, Patna

37 Sūrya (same as in fig. 36) (photo: A.I.I.S.)

38 Agni (photo: A.I.I.S.)
 Mundeśvarī Hill, ruined Temple, cornerstone,
 6th–7th centuries
 H: 30 cm; State Archaeological Museum, Patna

39 Indra (same as in fig. 38) (photo: A.I.I.S.)

40 Kubera (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, ruined Temple, cornerstone,
6th—7th centuries
H: 30 cm; State Archaeological Museum, Patna

41 Yama (same as in fig. 40) (photo: A.I.I.S.)

42 Varuṇa, Yama and Daṇḍapāṇi (from the left)Bhubaneswar, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple, *jagamohana*, south wall, niches between window and door, *c*. early 7th century

43 Agni or Soma? (left) and Vāyu
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c. early 7th century

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Soma (photo: Sotheby's, after Sales Catalogue, New York, 28.10.1991, Lot 302)
Uttar Pradesh, c. 6th–7th centuries terracotta

46 Panel with four *lokapālas* (photo: A.I.I.S.)
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Agni (?) (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Aihole, Huccappayya Temple, central bay, eastern beam, right side (south-east), *c.* 722–730 A.D.

51 Yama (photo: Joachim K. Bautze) Aihole, Huccappayya Temple, central bay, southern beam, centre, c. 722–730 A.D.

Vāyu (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Aihoļe, Huccappayya Temple, central bay, western beam, right side (north-west), *c*. 722–730 A.D.

Kubera (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Aihole, Huccappayya Temple, central bay, northern beam, centre, *c*. 722–730 A.D.

54 Īśāna (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
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55 Indra (photo: Joachim K. Bautze) Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, eastern *maṇḍapa*, ceiling panel, east, *c*. 735–750 A.D.

56 Agni (photo: Joachim K. Bautze) Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, eastern *maṇḍapa*, ceiling panel, south-east, *c*. 735–750 A.D.

Yama (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, eastern *maṇḍapa*, ceiling panel, south, *c*. 735–750 A.D.

Nairṛta (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, eastern *maṇḍapa*,
ceiling panel, south-west, *c*. 735–750 A.D.

59 Vāyu (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, eastern *maṇḍapa*, ceiling panel, north-west, *c.* 735–750 A.D.

60 Kubera (photo: Joachim K. Bautze) Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, eastern *maṇḍapa*, ceiling panel, north, *c*. 735–750 A.D.

61 Īsāna (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, eastern *maṇḍapa*,
ceiling panel, north-east, *c.* 735–750 A.D.

Varuṇa (photo: IFP)
Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, exterior, western *maṇḍapa*, north(-west), late 7th or early 8th century

63 Kubera (photo: IFP)
Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple, exterior, western maṇḍapa,
north(-east), late 7th or early 8th century

Alampur, Bāla Brahmā Temple, east wall,c. 650–670 A.D.

65 Agni Ālampur, Bāla Brahmā Temple, south wall, c. 650–670 A.D.

66 Yama Ālampur, Bāla Brahmā Temple, south wall, c. 650–670 A.D.

67 Varuņa
Ālampur, Bāla Brahmā Temple, west wall,c. 650–670 A.D.

68 VāyuAlampur, Bāla Brahmā Temple, west wall, c. 650–670 A.D.

69 Kubera Ālampur, Bāla Brahmā Temple, north wall, *c*. 650–670 A.D.

70 Indra Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, east wall, c. 680–700 A.D.

71 Agni Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, south wall, c. 680–700 A.D.

72 Yama Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, south wall, c. 680–700 A.D.

73 Nairṛta Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, south wall, c. 680–700 A.D.

74 Varuņa Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, west wall, c. 680–700 A.D. 75 Vāvu

Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, west wall, c. 680–700 A.D.

76 Kubera

Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, north wall, $c.\,680-700\,$ A.D.

77 Candra/Soma

Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, north wall, *c.* 680–700 A.D.

78 Īśāna

Älampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, north wall, *c.* 680–700 A.D.

79 Sūrya

Ālampur, Svarga Brahmā Temple, east wall, *c*. 680–700 a.d.

80 Yama

Ālampur, Viśva Brahmā Temple, south wall, late 7th century

81 Kubera

Ālampur, Viśva Brahmā Temple, north wall, late 7th century

82 Candra/Soma

Ālampur, Viśva Brahmā Temple, north wall, late 7th century

83 Nairrta

Ālampur, loose image in the Arka Brahmā Temple, probably from the Garuḍa Brahmā Temple, *c.* 700 A.D.

84 Candra/Soma? (photo: IFP)

Ālampur, Garuḍa Brahmā Temple, north wall, second niche from the east, c. 700 A.D.

85 Yama

Kuḍaveli, Saṅgameśvara Temple (reconstructed at Ālampur), south wall, c. late 7th century

86 Kubera (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Kuḍaveli (?), c. late 7th century H: 68 cm, W: 45 cm Ālampur Museum, no. 51

87 Kubera

Kuḍaveli, Saṅgameśvara Temple (reconstructed at Ālampur), $pr\bar{a}k\bar{a}ra$ wall, northern side, western corner, c. late 7th century

88 Agni (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Satyavolu, Rāmaliṅgeśvara Temple, *maṇḍapa*, south(-east), *c.* early 8th century

89 Garbhagrha overdoor with dikpālas (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Palārī, Siddheśvara Temple, c. late 7th or early 8th century

90 Agni (photo: A.J. Gail)

Amrol, Rāmeśvara Mahādeva Temple, southern $kapil\bar{\iota}$ niche, c. early 8th century

91 Yama (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)

Amrol, Rāmeśvara Mahādeva Temple, south(-western) *karna* niche, *c*. early 8th century

92 Kubera (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Amrol, Dānebābā Temple, (north-)western karna niche, c. mid-8th century

93 Vāyu (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Amrol, Dānebābā Temple, north(-western) *karṇa* niche, *c.* mid-8th century

94 Īśāna or Soma (?) (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Amrol, Dānebābā Temple, north(-eastern) karņa niche, c. mid-8th century

95 Sūrya (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Amrol, Dānebābā Temple, (north-)eastern karņa niche, c. mid-8th century

96 Indra (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Amrol, Dānebābā Temple, (south-)eastern *karṇa* niche, *c.* mid-8th century

97 Agni (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Amrol, Dānebābā Temple, south(-eastern) *karṇa* niche, *c*. mid-8th century

98 Agni

Gwālior, Telī-kā-mandir, base frieze, Panel 19, c. mid-8th century

99 Varuņa

Gwālior, Telī-kā-mandir, base frieze, Panel 69, *c*. mid-8th century

100 Vāyu

Gwālior, Telī-kā-mandir, base frieze, Panel 70, c. mid-8th century

101 Kubera (standing)

Gwālior, Telī-kā-mandir, base frieze, Panel 75, c. mid-8th century

102 Kubera (seated)

Gwālior, Telī-kā-mandir, base frieze, Panel 80, c. mid-8th century

103 Candra/Soma? (photo: Klaus Bruhn)

Gwālior, Telī-kā-mandir, base frieze, Panel 113, c. mid-8th century

104 Agni (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Cittaudgadh, Kālikāmātā Temple, *garbhabhitti*, south(-east), *c*. late 7th century

105 Yama (photo: Michael W. Meister)

Cittaudgadh, Kālikāmātā Temple, *garbhabhitti*, south(-west), *c*. late 7th century

106 Nairrta (photo: Michael W. Meister)

Cittaudgadh, Kālikāmātā Temple, garbhabhitti, (south-)west, c. late 7th century

107 Varuna (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Cittaudgadh, Kālikāmātā Temple, garbhabhitti, (north-)west, c. late 7th century

108 Vāyu (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Cittauḍgaḍh, Kālikāmātā Temple, garbhabhitti, north(-west), c. late 7th century

109 Soma (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Cittaudgadh, Kālikāmātā Temple, *garbhabhitti*, north(-east), *c.* late 7th century

110 Īśāna (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Cittauḍgaḍh, Kālikāmātā Temple, *garbhabhitti*, (north-)east, *c*. late 7th century

111 Īśāna type (photo: Jürgen Neuß)

Cittaudgadh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *garbhabhitti*, south(-east), *c*. early 8th century

112 Īśāna type (photo: Jürgen Neuß)

Cittaudgadh, Kumbhasyāma Temple, *garbhabhitti*, south(-west), *c*. early 8th century

113 Nairrta? (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Cittaudgaḍh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *garbhabhitti*, (south-)west, *c.* early 8th century

114 Varuna? (photo: Jürgen Neuß)

Cittauḍgaḍh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *garbhabhitti*, (north-)west, *c*. early 8th century

115 Indra (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Cittaudgaḍh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, gūḍhamaṇḍapa, exterior, (south-)east, c. early 8th century

116 Agni (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Cittaudgadh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *gūdhamanḍapa*,
exterior, south(-west), *c*. early 8th century

117 Skanda (photo: Jürgen Neuß)
Cittaudgadh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *mūlaprāsāda*, exterior, south(-west), *c*. early 8th century

118 Nairṛta (photo: Jürgen Neuß)
Cittauḍgaḍh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *mūlaprāsāda*,
exterior, (south-)west, *c*. early 8th century

119 Varuṇa (photo: Jürgen Neuß) Cittaud̞gaḍh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *mūlaprāsāda*, exterior, (north-)west, *c*. early 8th century

120 Yama (photo: Jürgen Neuß)
Cittauḍgaḍh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *mūlaprāsāda*, exterior, north(-west), *c*. early 8th century

121 Kubera (photo: Jürgen Neuß)
Cittaudgadh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *gūdhamandapa*, exterior, north(-east), *c.* early 8th century

122 Īśāna (photo: Jürgen Neuß)
Cittauḍgaḍh, Kumbhaśyāma Temple, *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, exterior, (north-)east, *c*. early 8th century

123 Sūrya (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Pīpāḍ, Piplādmātā Temple, (south-)east,
c. second quarter of the 8th century

124 Kubera (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Pīpāḍ, Piplādmātā Temple, south(-west),
c. second quarter of the 8th century

125 Unidentified deity (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Pīpād, Piplādmātā Temple, (south-)west,
c. second quarter of the 8th century

126 Varuṇa? (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Pīpād, Piplādmātā Temple, (north-)west,
c. second quarter of the 8th century

127 Vāyu (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Pīpāḍ, Piplādmātā Temple, north(-west),
c. second quarter of the 8th century

128 Īśāna? (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Pīpāḍ, Piplādmātā Temple, north(-east),
c. second quarter of the 8th century

129 Aṣṭadikpāla panel with Somaskanda in the centre (photo: IFP)
Paṭṭadakal, Kāśīviśvanātha Temple, ceiling,
c. mid-8th century

130 Brahmā (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)Aihole, Kuntī Group, north-east Temple, ceiling, centre,c. third quarter of the 9th century

131 Indra (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Aihole, Kuntī Group, North-east Temple, ceiling, east, *c*. third quarter of the 9th century

132 Agni (photo: Joachim K. Bautze) Aihole, Kuntī Group, North-east Temple, ceiling, south-east, *c*. third quarter of the 9th century

133 Yama (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Aihole, Kuntī Group, North-east Temple, ceiling, south, *c*. third quarter of the 9th century

134 Kubera (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Aihole, Kuntī Group, North-east Temple, ceiling, north, *c*. third quarter of the 9th century

135 Īśāna (photo: Joachim K. Bautze)
Aihole, Kuntī Group, North-east Temple, ceiling, north-east, *c*. third quarter of the 9th century

136 Aṣṭadikpāla panel with Naṭeśa in the centre (after I.K. SARMA 1992: pl. 45)
Aralaguppe, Kalleśvara Temple, ceiling, c. early 10th century

137 *Aṣṭadikpāla* panel with Naṭeśa in the centre (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Pathasivarama, Mailareśvara Temple, ceiling, *c*. mid-10th century

138 Aṣṭadikpāla panel with Umāmaheśvara in the centre (after B. Dagens 1984: ph. 805; photo: IFP)
Bhavanāsi Saṅgam, Rūpālā Saṅgameśvara Temple, ceiling, c. second quarter of the 9th century

139 Exterior view with Īsāna on the right side (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Aihole, Temple no. 52, east wall,
c. second quarter of the 10th century

140 Agni (photo: Gerd Mevissen)
Hemāvatī, fragment of ceiling panel,
c. second quarter of the 10th century
Government Museum, Madras

Indra
Ālampur, fragment of ceiling panel ('no. 1'),
c. 9th century
H: 50 cm
Ālampur Museum

142 Agni
 Ālampur, fragment of ceiling panel ('no. 1'),
 c. 9th century
 H: 50 cm

Ālampur Museum

143 Agni

Ālampur, fragment of ceiling panel, ('no. 2'), c. 9th century H: 57 cm Ālampur Museum

144 Īśāna
Ālampur, fragment of ceiling panel, ('no. 2'),
c. 9th century
H: 57 cm
Ālampur Museum

145 Sūryapāng, Śiva Temple, (south-)east,c. third quarter of the 8th century

147 Yama Pāng, Śiva Temple, south(-west), c. third quarter of the 8th century

148 Nairṛta pāng, Śiva Temple, (south-)west, c. third quarter of the 8th century

149 Vāyu
Dāng, Śiva Temple, (north-)west),
c. third quarter of the 8th century

150 VaruṇaDāṅg, Śiva Temple, north(-east),c. third quarter of the 8th century

151 Goddess (lunar symbolism?) pāng, Śiva Temple, (north-)east, c. third quarter of the 8th century

152 Indra (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Indor, Gargaja Mahādeva Temple, south *kapilī*, *c*. third quarter of the 8th century

153 Agni (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Indor, Gargaja Mahādeva Temple, *bhadra*, south-south-east, *c*. third quarter of the 8th century

154 Yama (photo: A.I.I.S.) Indor, Gargaja Mahādeva Temple, *bhadra*, south-south-west, *c*. third quarter of the 8th century

155 Nairṛta (photo: A.I.I.S.) Indor, Gargaja Mahādeva Temple, *bhadra*, west-south-west, *c*. third quarter of the 8th century

156 Varuṇa (photo: A.I.I.S.) Indor, Gargaja Mahādeva Temple, *bhadra*, west-north-west, *c*. third quarter of the 8th century

157 Vāyu (photo: A.I.I.S.) Indor, Gargaja Mahādeva Temple, *bhadra*, north-north-west, c. third quarter of the 8th century

158 Kubera (photo: A.I.I.S.) Indor, Gargaja Mahādeva Temple, *bhadra*, north-north-east, *c.* third quarter of the 8th century

159 Īśāna (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Indor, Gargaja Mahādeva Temple, north *kapilī*, *c.* third quarter of the 8th century

160 Yama (photo: A.I.I.S.) Koţa (M.P.), c. mid-8th century sandstone, H: 72 cm, W: 40 cm Central Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, no. 63

161 Temple exterior with Kubera (left) and Varuna in the karna niches (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Batesarā, Temple no. 4, north, c. late 8th century

162 Indra (photo: A.J. Gail)
Umri, Sūrya Temple, (south-)east,
c. second quarter of the 9th century

163 Agni (photo: A.J. Gail)
Umri, Sūrya Temple, south(-east),
c. second quarter of the 9th century

164 Yama (photo: A.J. Gail)
Umri, Sūrya Temple, south(-west),
c. second quarter of the 9th century

165 Nairṛta (photo: A.J. Gail)
Umri, Sūrya Temple, (south-)west,
c. second quarter of the 9th century

166 Varuṇa (photo: A.J. Gail)
Umri, Sūrya Temple, (north-)west,
c. second quarter of the 9th century

167 Vāyu (photo: A.J. Gail)
Umri, Sūrya Temple, north(-west),
c. second quarter of the 9th century

168 Kubera (photo: A.J. Gail)
Umri, Sūrya Temple, north(-east),
c. second quarter of the 9th century

169 Īśāna (photo: A.J. Gail)
Umri, Sūrya Temple, (north-)east,
c. second quarter of the 9th century

Varuna (photo: A.I.I.S.)
 Nacnā, Caturmukha Mahādeva Temple?,
 9th–10th centuries
 Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, no. 20768

171 Agni Gwālior, Caturbhuja Temple, south(-east), *c*. 875 A.D.

172 Yama Gwālior, Caturbhuja Temple, south(-west), c. 875 A.D.

173 Nairṛta Gwālior, Caturbhuja Temple, (south-)west, c. 875 A.D.

174 Varuņa Gwālior, Caturbhuja Temple, (north-)west, *c*. 875 A.D.

175 Vāyu Gwālior, Caturbhuja Temple, north(-west), c. 875 A.D.

176 KuberaGwālior, Caturbhuja Temple north(-east), *c*. 875 A.D.

177 Varuṇa (after A. DE LIPPE 1962: no. 33)
probably Mathurā region, c. early 9th century
stone slab, H: 31.75 cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 19.90

178 Īśāna (photo: Gerd Kreisel) Mathurā, from the river Yamunā, c. early 9th century stone slab, H: 30 cm Government Museum, Mathura, no. 1570

179 Garbhagtha overdoor with dikpāla frieze (photo: A.I.I.S.)
Barwāsāgar, Jarāi-kā-math, c. 900 A.D.

180 Loose *dikpāla* frieze

Baḍoh, *c*. 9th–10th centuries

H: *c*. 50 cm, W: 215 cm

Central Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, no. 93

181 Vāyu (photo: A.J. Gail) Sesai, Sūrya Temple, north(-west), c. second quarter of the 10th century

182 Kubera (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiãñ, Sūrya Temple 1, (south-)east, c. early 8th century

183 Agni (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiãñ, Sūrya Temple 1, south(-east), *c*. early 8th century

184 Yama (photo: Petra Haubold)
Osiāñ, Sūrya Temple 1, south(-west),
c. early 8th century

185 Candra/Soma? (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiãñ, Sūrya Temple 1, (south-)west, *c*. early 8th century

186 Varuṇa (photo: Michael W. Meister)
Osiāñ, Sūrya Temple 1, northern *kapilī*,
c. early 8th century

187 Vāyu (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, Sūrya Temple 1, (north-)west, *c*. early 8th century

188 Indra (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 1, (south-)east, *c*. mid-8th century

189 Agni (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 1, south(-east), *c*. mid-8th century

190 Yama (photo: Petra Haubold)
Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 1, south(-west),
c. mid-8th century

191 Nairṛta (after D. Handa 1984: pl. 109) Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 1, (south-)west, *c*. mid-8th century

- **192 Varuṇa** (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 1, north(-west), *c*. mid-8th century
- 193 Vāyu (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 1, (north-)west,
 c. mid-8th century
- **194 Kubera** (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 1, north(-east), *c*. mid-8th century
- 195 Īśāna (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 1, (north-)east,
 c. mid-8th century
- **196** Nairṛta (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, Sūrya Temple 2, (south-)west, c. third quarter of the 8th century
- **197 Varuṇa** (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, Sūrya Temple 2, (north-)west, *c*. third quarter of the 8th century
- **198 Kubera** (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiãñ, Sūrya Temple 2, south(-west), *c*. third quarter of the 8th century
- **199 Loose image of Kubera** (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, in sanctum of the Pīpalādevī Temple, *c.* first quarter of the 9th century
- 200 Exterior view with Kubera in *karṇa* niche (photo: A.I.I.S.) Osiāñ, Sūrya-Viṣṇu Temple, north(-eastern) corner, *c*. last quarter of the 8th century
- **201 Kubera** (photo: A.I.I.S.) Osiāñ, Viṣṇu Temple no. 1, north(-east), *c*. third quarter of the 8th century
- 202 Kubera (photo: A.I.I.S.)
 Osiāñ, Viṣṇu Temple 2, north(-east),
 c. third quarter of the 9th century
- 203 Varuna in pratiratha (left) and Nairrta in karna niche (photo: A.I.I.S.)
 Osiãñ, Pīpalādevī Temple, west wall, southern portion, c. first quarter of the 9th century
- 204 Vāyu in karņa (left) and Kubera in pratiratha niche (photo: A.I.I.S.)
 Osiāñ, Pīpalādevī Temple, west wall, northern portion, c. first quarter of the 9th century
- 205 Indra (photo: Petra Haubold)Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 2, (south-)east,c. third quarter of the 8th century
- **206 Agni** (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiãñ, Harihara Temple 2, south(-east), *c*. third quarter of the 8th century
- **207 Yama** (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiãñ, Harihara Temple 2, south(-west), *c*. third quarter of the 8th century
- 208 Nairṛta (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 2, (south-)west,
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- **209 Varuṇa** (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 2, (north-)west, *c*. third quarter of the 8th century
- **210 Vāyu** (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 2, north(-west), *c*. third quarter of the 8th century
- 211 Kubera (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 2, north(-east),
 c. third quarter of the 8th century

- 212 Īśāna (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 2, (north-)east,
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- 213 Indra (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Śiva Temple 1, (south-)east,
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- 214 Agni (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Śiva Temple 1, south(-east),
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- 215 Yama (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Śiva Temple 1, south(-west),
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- 216 Nairṛta (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Śiva Temple 1, (south-)west,
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- 217 Varuṇa (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Śiva Temple 1, (north-)west,
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- **218** Vāyu (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Śiva Temple 1, north(-west),
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- **219 Kubera** (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiāñ, Śiva Temple 1, north(-east), *c*. third quarter of the 8th century
- **220** Īśāna (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Śiva Temple 1, (north-)east,
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- **221 Varuṇa** (photo: Petra Haubold) Osiãñ, Sūrya-Viṣṇu Temple, (north-)west, c. last quarter of the 8th century
- **222 Varuṇa** (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Osiāñ, Viṣṇu Temple 1, (north-)west,
 c. third quarter of the 8th century
- **223 Varuṇa** (photo: Britta Schneider) Osiāñ, Harihara Temple 3, (north-)west, *c*. last quarter of the 8th century
- **224** Indra (photo: Falk Reitz)
 Ābānerī, Harṣatmātā Temple, *garbhabhitti* (secondary position), *c*. first quarter of the 9th century
- **Agni** (photo: Falk Reitz)Ābānerī, Harṣatmātā Temple, *garbhabhitti*, south(-east),c. first quarter of the 9th century
- 226 Indra (photo: Petra Haubold)

 Kheḍ, Raṇchoḍjī Temple, *garbhabhitti*, (south-)east, *c*. mid-9th century
- **227 Agni** (photo: Petra Haubold) Khed, Ranchodjī Temple, *garbhabhitti*, south(-east), *c.* mid-9th century
- 228 Yama (photo: Petra Haubold)

 Khed, Raṇchodjī Temple, *garbhabhitti*, south(-west),

 c. mid-9th century
- 229 Nairṛta (photo: Petra Haubold) Kheḍ, Raṇchoḍjī Temple, *garbhabhitti*, (south-)west, c. mid-9th century
- **230 Varuṇa** (photo: Petra Haubold) Kheḍ, Raṇchoḍjī Temple, *garbhabhitti*, (north-)west, *c*. mid-9th century
- **231 Vāyu** (photo: Petra Haubold)
 Kheḍ, Raṇchoḍjī Temple, *garbhabhitti*, north(-west), *c*. mid-9th century

232 Kubera (photo: Petra Haubold)

Khed, Ranchodjī Temple, *garbhabhitti*, north(-east), *c*. mid-9th century

233 Īśāna (photo: Petra Haubold)

Khed, Ranchodjī Temple, *garbhabhitti*, (north-)east, c. mid-9th century

234 Indra (photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Pāhārpur (Bangladesh), Somapura Vihāra, base frieze, Panel 29, *c*. 8th century H: 76 cm, W: 56 cm Pāhārpur Site Museum

235 Agni (after K.N. Dikshit 1938: pl. XXXII b)

Pāhārpur (Bangladesh), Somapura Vihāra, base frieze, Panel 34, *c*. 8th century H: 84 cm, W: 33 cm

236 Vāyu (photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Pāhārpur (Bangladesh), Somapura Vihāra, base frieze, Panel 39, *c*. 8th century H: 82 cm, W: 41 cm Pāhārpur Site Museum

237 Candra (photo: Gouriswar Bhattacharya)

Pāhārpur (Bangladesh), Somapura Vihāra, base frieze, Panel 60, *c*. 8th century H: 84 cm, W: 36 cm Pāhārpur Site Museum

238 Agni (centre) (photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Pāhārpur (Bangladesh), Somapura Vihāra, base frieze, *in situ*, *c*. 8th century terracotta panel

239 Vāyu (photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Pāhārpur (Bangladesh), Somapura Vihāra, c. 8th century terracotta panel
Pāhārpur Site Museum

240 Frieze with Gaņeśa and dikpālas

(photo: Gouriswar Bhattacharya) Gaur (Malda Dist./West Bengal)?, 9th century H: 80 cm, W: 274.4 cm

British Museum, London, no. 1956, P.T. Brooke Sewell

241 Agni (photo: Falk Reitz)

Bārambā, Siṃhanātha Temple, *jagamohana*, south(-east), *c*. third quarter of the 9th century

242 Yama (photo: Falk Reitz)

Bārambā, Siṃhanātha Temple, *gaṇḍi*, south, *candraśālā*, *c.* third quarter of the 9th century

243 Agni

(after J. Vijaya Lakshmi/M. Krishna Kumari 1991: pl. 14) Gallāvalli, Kāmeśvara Temple, *deul*, south(-east), *c*. first half of the 10th century

244 Nairrta

(after J. Vijaya Lakshmi/M. Krishna Kumari 1991: pl. 15) Gallāvalli, Kāmeśvara Temple, *deul*, south(-west), *c*. first half of the 10th century

245 Varuna

(after J. Vijaya Lakshmi/M. Krishna Kumari 1991: pl. 16) Gallāvalli, Kāmeśvara Temple, *deul*, (south-)west, c. first half of the 10th century

246 Vāyu

(after J. Vijaya Lakshmi/M. Krishna Kumari 1991: pl. 17) Gallāvalli, Kāmeśvara Temple, *deul*, (north-)west, *c*. first half of the 10th century

247 Kubera

(after J. Vijaya Lakshmi/M. Krishna Kumari 1991: pl. 18) Gallāvalli, Kāmeśvara Temple, deul, north(-west), c. first half of the 10th century

248 Īśāna

(after J. Vijaya Lakshmi/M. Krishna Kumari 1991: pl. 19) Gallāvalli, Kāmeśvara Temple, *deul*, north(-east), *c*. first half of the 10th century

249 Indra (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-eastern subsidiary shrine, (north-)east, *c*. 970 A.D.

250 Agni (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-eastern subsidiary shrine, (south-)east, *c.* 970 A.D.

251 Yama (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-eastern subsidiary shrine, south(-east), c. 970 A.D.

252 Nairrta (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-eastern subsidiary shrine, south(-west), c. 970 A.D.

253 Varuṇa (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-eastern subsidiary shrine, (south-)west, *c*. 970 A.D.

254 Vāyu (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-eastern subsidiary shrine, (north-)west, *c*. 970 A.D.

255 Kubera (photo: Falk Reitz)

Ganeśwarpur, Pañcapāndava Temple, south-eastern subsidiary shrine, north(-west), c. 970 A.D.

256 Īśāna (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-eastern subsidiary shrine, north(-east), c. 970 A.D.

257 Indra (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, (south-)east, *c.* 970 A.D.

258 Agni (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, south(-east), c. 970 A.D.

259 Yama (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, south, *bhadra*, cornice, *c*. 970 A.D.

260 Yama (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaṇeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, south(-west), c. 970 A.D. (photo: Falk Reitz)

261 Nairṛta (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, (south-)west, c. 970 A.D.

262 Varuna (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, (north-)west, c. 970 A.D.

263 Vāyu (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, north(-west), c. 970 A.D.

264 Kubera (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, north(-east), c. 970 A.D.

265 Īśāna (photo: Falk Reitz)

Gaņeśwarpur, Pañcapāṇḍava Temple, south-western subsidiary shrine, (north-)east, *c*. 970 A.D.

266 Națeśa

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, centre, c. 9th century

267 Indra

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, east, c. 9th century

268 Agni

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, south-east, *c*. 9th century

269 Yama

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, south, *c*. 9th century

270 Nairrta

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, south-west, *c*. 9th century

271 Varuna

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, west, c. 9th century

272 Vāyu

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, north-west, *c*. 9th century

273 Kubera

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, north, c. 9th century

274 Īśāna

Dharmapuri, Mallikārjuna Temple, ceiling panel, north-east, *c*. 9th century

275 Nairrta (photo: IFP)

Pratakoṭa, Nāgeśvara Temple, vimāna, grīvā level (?), c. 9th–10th centuries

276 Varuna (photo: IFP)

Pratakoţa, Nāgeśvara Temple, loose image, c. 9th–10th centuries H: 64 cm

277 Vāyu (photo: IFP)

Pratakoţa, Nāgeśvara Temple, loose image, c. 9th–10th centuries H: 66 cm

278 *Dikpāla* frieze (photo: Gudrun Melzer)

Ellorā, Kailāsa Temple, western *gopura*, western face, north of entrance, Panels 8–10, *c*. third quarter of the 8th century

279 Mahiśāsuramardinī panel (photo: A.I.I.S.) Ellorā, Kailāsa Temple, inner (east) side

of the *gopura*, facing north, c. third quarter of the 8th century

280 Śiva Yogīśvara panel (photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Ellorā, Kailāsa Temple, base of the main temple, facing west, c. third quarter of the 8th century

281 Śiva Yogīśvara panel (left side)

(photo: Gerd Mevissen) Ellorā, Kailāsa Temple

282 Śiva Yogīśvara panel (right side)

(photo: Gerd Mevissen) Ellorā, Kailāsa Temple

283 Indra (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Bikkavolu, Golingesvara Temple, south, *janghā*, centre, *c*. 9th century

284 Vāyu (photo:.IFP)

Bikkavolu, Golingeśvara Temple, south, *jańghā*, on the right of Indra,

c. 9th century

285 Soma? with consort

Kāñcīpuram, Kailāsanātha Temple, prākāra wall, between Cells 43 and 44, c. first quarter of the 8th century

286 Unidentified deity with a club

Kāñcīpuram, Kailāsanātha Temple, *prākāra* wall, between Cell 52 and the north-eastern corner, *c*. first quarter of the 8th century

287 Two "Īśāna type" riders with consorts

Kāñcīpuram, Kailāsanātha Temple, *prākāra* wall, Cell 46, upper portion of Vīṇādharamūrti panel, *c*. first quarter of the 8th century

288 Two directional guardians?

South India, c. 9th century Government Museum, Madras

289 Agni

South India, c. 9th century H: 112 cm National Museum, New Delhi, no. 69.45

290 Agni (side view) (same as in fig. 289)

291 Agni

Tirunelveli, 9th–10th centuries H: 78 cm, W: 45.5 cm Government Museum, Madras, no. 2675

292 Agni (side view) (same as in fig. 291)

293 Vāyu

Tirunelveli, 9th–10th centuries H: 79.5 cm Government Museum, Madras

294 Agni (photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Tañjāvūr, Rājarājeśvara Temple, devakulikā cell, prākāra wall, south-east, c. 1000 A.D.

295 Varuna (photo: IFP)

Tañjāvūr, Rājarājeśvara Temple, devakulikā cell, prākāra wall, west, c. 1000 A.D.

296 Īśāna (photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Tañjāvūr, Rājarājeśvara Temple, *devakulikā* cell in the north-eastern corner of the *prākāra* wall, *c.* 1000 A.D.

297 Śikhara of devakulikā of Nairrta

(photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Tañjāvūr, Rājarājeśvara Temple, c. 1000 A.D.

298 Śikhara of devakulikā of Varuņa

(photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Tañjāvūr, Rājarājeśvara Temple, c. 1000 A.D.

299 Śikhara of devakulikā of Vāyu

(photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Tañjāvūr, Rājarājeśvara Temple, c. 1000 A.D.

300 Śikhara of devakulikā of Soma

(photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Tañjāvūr, Rājarājeśvara Temple, c. 1000 A.D.

301 Śiva Vaivāhikamūrti

(after A. Goswami 1956: pl. 15)

Kanauj, c. 8th century

Collection Ram Narayan Kapur (formerly?), Kanauj

302 Śiva Vaivāhikamūrti

Kāmān (Bharatpur Dist.), c. 8th–9th centuries H: 98.5 cm, W: 68.5 cm National Museum, New Delhi, no. 69.134

303 Śiva Vaivāhikamūrti

(detail of upper left portion, same as fig. 302) Kāmān (Bharatpur Dist.),

c. 8th-9th centuries

304 Śiva Vaivāhikamūrti (photo: Martina Stoye)

Mānasīgangā/Goverdhan, 9th-10th centuries

Government Museum, Mathura, no. 87.8

305 Śiva Vaivāhikamūrti (photo: Martina Stoye)

Mathurā, 9th-10th centuries Indian Museum, Calcutta

306 Śiva Vaivāhikamūrti

Etah (U.P.), c. 10th century Bharat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, acc. no. 175

307 Viśvarūpa (photo: Linden-Museum, Stuttgart)

South-eastern Rajasthan, c. 8th century

H: 47.7 cm, W: 45.7 cm

Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, no. SA 01582

308 Viśvarūpa (right portion, same as in fig. 307)

(photo: Linden-Museum, Stuttgart)

309 Viśvarūpa

Tumain, c. 8th–9th centuries H: 58 cm, W: 61 cm

National Museum, New Delhi, no. 78.998

310 Viśvarūpa (right side, same as in fig. 309)

311 Manu Lokapāla panel

(photo: Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin) South Bihar, c. 8th century H: 15 cm, W: 54.5 cm

Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 672

312 Manu Lokapāla panel (photo: Gerd Mevissen)

Bihar, c. 8th century

State Archaeological Museum, Patna, no. Arch. 11324

313 Manu Lokapāla panel (incomplete?)

(photo: Archaeological Survey of India) Guneri, c. 9th century

Bodhgaya Site Museum, no. 208

314 Agni

Sārnāth, c. 6th–7th centuries estimated H: 120 cm

Archaeological Museum, Sarnath, no. 535

315 Agni (photo: Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin)

Rajasthan, c. 10th century H: 59.5 cm, W: 29.5 cm

Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 10072

316 Varuna

Madhya Pradesh, c. mid-8th century H: 39 cm National Museum, New Delhi, no. 67.37

317 Varuna (photo: A.J. Gail)

Rajasthan, c. 9th century

H: c. 80 cm

Jhalawar Museum, no. 64

318 Vāvu (photo: Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin)

Gandhāra region, c. 2nd-3rd centuries

H: 30 cm

Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 43

319 Vāyu (photo: A.J. Gail)

Rajasthan, c. 9th century

H: c. 80 cm

Jhalawar Museum, no. 96

320 Vāvu (photo: Sotheby's, after Sales Catalogue,

New York, 19.09.1996, Lot 108)

Rajasthan (?), c. 8th century

H: 48 cm

321 Kubera

unknown findspot, c. 6th-7th centuries Bharat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, no. 23981

322 Kubera (?) (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Naresar, Temple no. 17, west, c. early 8th century

323 Dandapāni

unknown findspot, c. 5th–6th centuries Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, provisional no. T 467 (in 1992)

324 Dandapāņi (photo: A.I.I.S.)

Hiṅglāigadh (M.P.), c. 10th century H: 50.5 cm, W: 40.5 cm Central Museum, Indore

325 Harihara-Dandapāṇi (after V.C. Ohri 1991: pl. 3.41)

Baijnāth (Kangra Dist./H.P.), Śiva Temple, c. 13th century

326 Națeśa group with four lokapālas

(after P. Banerji 1985, ill. 12 – mirror-image, rectified here) Pattadakal, Mallikārjuna Temple, hall, central ceiling panel c. second decade of the 8th century

327 Vișnu Anantaśayana panel

(photo: Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin) probably eastern Rajasthan,

c. 9th century

H: 38 cm, W: 60 cm

Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, no. I 9972