

R.K.K. RAJARAJAN

THE ICONOGRAPHY
OF THE KAILĀSANĀTHA TEMPLE
SEEING BEYOND THE REPLASTERED
IMAGES AND YOGINĪS

The Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcīpuram (shortly Kāñci, Kacci or folk Kañci) is one of the masterpieces of Pallava architects. It is attributed to the time of Rājasimha Pallava (700-728 CE), also known as Nṛsimhavarman II. He took the hand of Raṅgapatākā, who is said to have collaborated with her husband in building the Kailāsanātha (Sastri 1971: 168, Srinivasan 1999: 26) as per inscriptional testimony. Nṛsimhavarman II is identified with “Che-li Na-lo-seng-K’ia” (Śrī Narasiṃha) or “Che-li-Na-lo-sang-k’ia pao-to-pa- mo” (Śrī Narasiṃha Pōtavarman) of the Chinese annals (Sastri 1972: 116-17) and Kāṭavarkōṅ-Kalarcinṅkaṅ of the Tamil hagiographical works; e.g. the *Tiruttoṅṅar Purāṇam* (Episode 59). He was a devoted follower of Śivaism (Gonda 1970); one among the *arupattumūvar*, the sixty-three dedicated servants or “slaves” of the Lord. He rendered memorable service for Śivaism as the hagiography works specify. The saints had impetuous faith in Śiva and few of them did not treat women with respect. In one case the saint cut off the tresses of his wife and Pallava king under study amputated the nose or hands of his queen for causing nuisance in service of Śiva (*vide*, Attachment I, Sivaramamurti 1984: 40, 43-44). ‘Kāṭavarkōṅ’ Rājasimha is said to have erected an unearthly temple for the Lord in his celebrated metropolis at Kāñcīpuram (*vide*, Xuanzang’s

attestation in Beal n.d. and 1911, cf. Sathianathaier 1987: 24-25 citing T. Watters), which is again told in the hagiography. Rājasimha is credited with the construction of Rājasimheśvara or Shore temple at Māmallapauram, Talagirīśvara at Paṇamalai and other temples for Śiva in Kāñci such as the Mukteśvara and Mātaṅgeśvara.

The architecture and iconography of the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci has been scientifically examined in earlier works (e.g. Srinivasan 1999: 58-64). In recent times, scholars view the Kailāsanātha in different angles and some say it was a base of the Yoginī cult coexisting with Śivaism (Kaimal 2005: 45-87). K.R. Srinivasan 1999 has detailed the iconographic design, listing each of the male or female and syncretistic forms such as Somāskanda (Kalidos 2001: 171-72), Ardhanārīśvara (cf. Rajarajan 2012b: 233-70), Harihara (Kalidos 1994: 279-80) and so on. He has nothing to say on the Śākta or Yoginī/Tantric rituals within the iconographic scheme or architectural setting of the Kailāsanātha or any other Pallava temple in Kāñci (cf. Srinivasan 1972: 115-18). Such evidences are not forthcoming from hagiography, inscriptions or literature (e.g. the *Tēvāram* hymns) of the age.

We may also note here the temple is unique in plan that one may not come across in other Pallava temples. Oblong and east-facing, the first to be built within the four walls is called Rājasimheśvara that occupies the western part of the complex. The eastern half was fitted with another temple for Śiva, called Mahendravarmeśvara added by his short-lived son, Mahendrarman III. Both the temples in the *garbhagrha* accommodate the Śiva-Liṅga superimposed on the back wall by the anthropomorphic Somāskanda. The entire temple is fenced by a wall that is fitted with miniature chapels, called *devakulikās*. This is a distinctive pattern that we do not come across in other temples of South India. The Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakkal seems to have imitated such a plan by fixing miniature chambers that surround the main temple, which are found dilapidated today (Kalidos 2006: II, 142). The Kailāsanātha during the early eighth century was erected with sandstone, plastered and painted. What we find in the present

temple is that the original plaster and paintings have fallen or disappeared in most cases. The fallen plaster seems to have been replastered sometime in the nineteenth or early twentieth century. Several Pallava temples have undergone renovation in Kāñci, nearby Kūram, and the Pallava feudatory Muttaraiyar cave temple at Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi in the Putukkōṭṭai region, especially for Raṅganātha (Kalidos 1988: pls. I-II), and Pāṇḍya caves at Kuṇṇakkuṭi (Rajarajan 2012b: fig. 8). Therefore, when a scholar studies the Pallava iconographical features in the temples of Kāñci he has to be very careful in differentiating the original Pallava with later replastered images.

The aim of the present study is to discuss the twin issues of original Pallava and replastered or distorted religious images in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci. In such a case study the Pallava images may have to be carefully detached or differentiated with those that were distorted during later renovations. The replastered images could be easily identified due to clumsy output. It may be worthwhile to consider whether the temple was accommodated with Yoginī goddesses and their cult. Alternatively, it is suggested the Kailāsanātha was a base of the Trimūrti-Yogīśvara cult. The internal evidences of iconographic scheme and inscriptional sources enhance our thesis. Contemporary Tamil literature or hagiography of the king-saint has nothing to confirm the Tantric lineage of the temple.

I

During a recent visit to Kāñcīpuram, we had to observe a strange spectrum in the religious imagery of the Kailāsanātha temple, casually noted in Kalidos (2006: I, 207) and Rajarajan (2011a: 142). It is known for certain from epigraphical sources that the temple was built during the period of Rājasimha Pallava, contributed by his *mahārāṇī* Raṅapatākā and son

Mahendravarman III.¹ The temple is in two parts, called Rājasimheśvara (western half) and Mahendravarmeśvara (eastern half). Interestingly, the Western Calukya Vikramāditya II Satyāśraya is said to have conquered Kāñci, visited the temple and “did not confiscate the property of Rājasimheśvara, but returned it to the God” recording those that “destroy the letters and the charity (of Īśvara) shall enter the world of those who have killed the *mahājana* of the *ghaṭika* of this city” (ARE 1888: no. 8). The entire complex is enclosed within a *tirumatil* “sacred wall”, fitted with *devakulikās*,² miniature shrines or what is called “Model Shrine” (Rajarajan 2011: figs. 46-47). The *devakulikās* are eight at the façade level and fifty-eight along the wall in the inner part of the temple (Figs. 1, 18-19). Each model shrine houses an image in its sacred chamber; i.e. Somāskandamūrti and Liṅga in the frontal *devakulikās* and the manifestations of Śiva such as Gaṅgādhara and Brahmaśiraschedaka or Viṣṇu with or without Devīs and so on. In some rare cases images of Gaṇapati and Agastya do appear.³ The redundant forms are Somāskanda and Yogīśvara.

The construction technology of the Kailāsanātha may be understood by the way it stands today. The temples are built of hard and soft stone in the Pallava zone whereas the Kailāsanātha is “wholly of sandstone” (Srinivasan 1999: 59) comparable to the Western Calukya temples in Aihole (Srinivasan 1972: 111, Rajarajan 2011b), Badāmī and Paṭṭadakkal.⁴ Due to the brittle

¹ ARE: *Annual Epigraphical Reports*, 1888, nos. 6, 27. The temple is called Nityavinīteśvara (ARE 1888: no. 5). T.V. Mahalingam’s (1969: 109) date for the accession of Rājasimha is 690 CE that is supported by the ARE (Mahalingam ed., *A Topographical List...*, p. 116; ARE 1888: no. 5). K.R. Srinivasan’s date is 700 CE (*vide*, Meister & Dhaky eds. 1999: 22). Raṅgapatākā is said to have contributed her share and Mahendravarman III added the frontal shrine, called Mahendravarmeśvara. Mahendra is Sanskrit and Makēntiraṅ Tamil.

² *Devakulikā* is employed in K.R. Srinivasan (Meister & Dhaky eds. 1999: 63). It is not clear what *kulikā* means. Monier-Williams (2005: 294) gives the meaning “good family”, “a kinsman”, “chief of a guild” and so on. Maybe it stands for a good model of a temple, the work of an expert architect.

³ Interestingly no independent image of Murukan/Skanda is found. The baby-Kumara appears in Somāskanda.

⁴ The Pallavas employed “native rocks” such as granite, hard-reddish gneiss, blackish-hard variety of leptinite and somewhat softer grayish-white granite for their structural

variety of stone used for sculptural work, many of these are eroded due to the ravage of time. Four distinct stages in the construction technology of the Pallava temple architecture and iconographical fitting may be construed:

- i) Erecting the architectural framework
- ii) Fitting the stone sculptures in prescribed locations as the *āgama* or *śilpāśāstra* may demand (e.g. *vimāna*, *bhitti* or *pāda*, *devakoṣṭha* or aedicule (Hardy 1998, 2012: 108)
- iii) Plastering the stone inner core (Fig. 5) and
- iv) Painting over the plaster (Fig. 2)⁵

This type of completed work may be found in certain sections of the Kailāsanātha temple (Figs. 2 & 10, cf. Figs 4 & 5).

During a vast period that extends over a millennium and quarter the paintings have completely disappeared in the Kailāsanātha and all other Pallava temples, and the plaster on the images had fallen.⁶ This type of natural devastation is clearly noticeable in case of several images of which a sample of Dakṣiṇāmūrti appearing on the southern *devakoṣṭha* is brought to attention (Fig. 3). The image with its retinue; Gaṇapati within the *makaratorāṇa* above, face of lion, rearing lion-motifs fitted to *kuḍyastambhas*, *ṛṣis*, the head of an elephant below and other decorative devices in addition to the pivotal Mūrti seated under the *vaṭavṛkṣa* in *mahārājatīlāsana* attitude are the original Pallava devoid of later day replaster and repainting. If added the plaster and the painting, one may find

temples all over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (e.g. Kāñci, Tiruppattūr, Uttiramērūr, Kūram); and granite for slabs and basement and top of *adhiṣṭhāna*, *upāna* and *paṭṭika* (Srinivasan 1972: 111-12).

⁵ It seems various segments of the temple were under charge of different guilds or *śilpācāryas* during the construction process. It is evident from the *Choṭa-Kailāsa* in Ellora. We find few sections of the monolithic temple complete and stand painted; in other areas the work had just begun and left incomplete.

⁶ In a recent Congress in Rome 2011 (T. Lorenzetti & F. Scialpi eds. 2012) we heard Italian scholars (Giovanni Verardi and Anna Fillizenzi) working on Gandhāran stucco work that are dated to the early century of the Christian era; today in ruins. Stucco like wood (cf. Kalidos 1989) is not a durable material that could stand the test of time over 2,000 years. For a good coverage of stucco images in Tamilnadu see Rajarajan 2006 and Raman 2012.

an image comparable to Fig. 2. The replastered images are akin to Fig. 4.

Two other images in the same temple complex may be examined; one of which is partly ruined and renovated and other completely renovated (Figs. 4-5, cf. the two images of Yogīśvara Figs. 7-8).⁷ The renovated images are likely to be post-Nāyaka by outward expression but the nucleus is Pallava. The remodeling seems to have been carried out with cheap labour by a mason who was not acquainted with traditional sculptural work. The renovation may not be older than 100 years and perhaps the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) at the incipient stage of its conservation work is likely to have undertaken such a job. The author has observed patch-up work in the Dharmarāja-*ratha* of Māmallapuram, e.g. fitting a nose if broken. Otherwise, the patron could have been a local *zamīndār* or dignitary (Parthiban 2013). The extensive nature of the work done (cf. note 7) in the Pallava temples of Kāñci and the region around might suggest the patron was a local dignitary. The rules and regulations of ASI may not permit such super-imposed undertaking on historically important monuments. Very few scholars writing on Kāñci or Pallava art history have brought to light these hidden facts. It is crucial to take into consideration the distorting renovations to study the religious imagery of the early eighth century CE. Otherwise, the make-up in disguise may lead to mistaken acclimatization.

The distorted or replastered images could not be brought under the Pallava category (cf. Kaimal 2005: figs. 9, 11, 15, 17, 18; Rajarajan 2011a: 142).⁸ The image of Yogīśvara (Fig. 2) with patches of Pallava painting housed in the seventh southern *devakulikā* (Kalidos 2006: II, 190) presents a marked contract

⁷ Distorted and replastered later images may be found in other Pallava temples such as Vakikunṭha Perumāḷ (Kalidos 2006: 207-14, pls. LXXI-LXXII; Nagaswamy 2011: 61-136) Airāvateśvara, Mātāṅgeśvara, Muketśvara, Iṛavātaneśvara, Piṛavātaneśvara and the nearby temples at Kūṛam (Ādi Keśava) and so on. The images in the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi Raṅganātha cave temple were replastered and painted during the Nāyaka period with a better-quality effect (Kalidos 1988: fig. 12, pls. I-II); also Kuṅṅakkuṭi in the Pāṇḍyan zone (Rajarajan 2012b: fig. 8).

⁸ At the present status of the images in the Kailāsanātha all are not Pallava (cf. Kaimal 2005: figs. 5-7, 12, 14, 16 are to be compared with figs. 9, 11, 15, 17-18).

with the replastered images.⁹ Whether painted or not-painted if one is trained in Pallava art history, he may be at ease to detect the non-Pallava elements taking into due consideration the rude and rough work done by way of replastering (Fig. 4). The naked truth is that the Pallava is concealed within a post-Nāyaka renovation.

In Fig. 5 the image is partly plastered. That is to say the plaster in lower part of the image has fallen, thus bringing out the inner original stone. In the other image Fig. 4 the replastering work is complete including a fallen plaster at the left corner. In Figs. 4 and 6 bricks appear, which means a brick coating was first added and then replastered to complete the work. This is to suggest an addition of six inches over-coating on the original Pallava images. In comparison Figs. 3 and 5 show a contrast of the Pallava and replastered images. It appears in case of Fig. 5 someone has deliberately removed the plaster in order to bring out the original. The discordances in respect of the two images may be summarized briefly:

- Fig. 4: the facial make-up, especially the nose, and headgear, the *vaṭavṛkṣa* present an entirely different scenario that is non-Pallava
- The *ṛsis* are found below the pedestal in Fig. 5 and in Fig. 4 a later imposed gazelle-like *mṛga* appears (cf. the gazelle in Fig. 3)
- Fig. 5 find the Lord seated on a *bhadapīṭha* and in Fig. 4 it is supposed to be the peak of a hill

The original and eroded imagery may be clearly detected in Figs. 6 and 10. In both the lion below Devī are Pallava without any damage; the plaster and paintings have gone. In Fig. 6 the lion below Yogīśvarī is completely eroded and in Fig. 10 the lion below Jyeṣṭhā is partly eroded. For another good example of Pallava and distorted-Pallava see the two images of Gajalakṣmī (Kalidos 2006: III, pls. LIV.1 & LV.1). These two

⁹ It is not clear whether the replastered images were painted. No evidence to that effect has survived.

images may have to be compared with Gajalakṣmī in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* (Fig. 15) of Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: III, pl. XLVIII.1).

The differences in case of the Pallava originals and replastered images may be due to several reasons. The first presumption is that the sculptor who renovated the images had let loose his fancy or fallacy mainly because he was not acquainted with the Pallava idioms of religious iconography. Even if familiar he did not possess the talent to carry it out in his work. The replastering should have been undertaken at a low-cost budget with which what all is feasible alone could be done.¹⁰ Another problem is who the donor of the replastering make-up was; definitely not a dynastic *mahāmaṇḍalesvara* of Vijayanagara or Nāyaka.

What is generalized at this juncture is that the distorted Pallava images could be considered only under certain compelling circumstances if to be brought under the dynastic arts of South Asia. These need not be taken into account to examine Pallava cult and artistic traditions. A fanciful sculptor could even make a Somāskanda out of Umāsahitamūrti if he could impose a later stucco baby-Skanda on the lap of Devī. Three iconographical forms are identical; that could be easily converted into another by adding or removing Umā or Skanda; e.g.

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sukhāsanamūrti: | Śiva seated in solitude |
| Umāsahita or Umāmaheśvara: | Śiva and Umā coupled |
| Somāskanda: | Seated Śiva, Umā, and baby Skanda |

Therefore, what is considered Devī as a teacher (Kaimal 2005: fig. 17) need not have been originally designed to bring out the Devī-teacher concept. The Mohinī here is distracting the *yogi*'s *tapas* in my opinion; e.g. Menakā and Viśvāmitra, and Madana

¹⁰ Vai. Ganpati *Stapati* (he is no more) and his students' (e.g. Raman 2012) say their works get close to the Pallava style (*vide*, the *Stapati*'s drawings in the *Cirpaccennūl*). In fact, they are neither Pallava nor Cōḷa but post-Nāyaka; cf. the Valluvar Kōṭṭam in Chennai (Kalidos 2010: 13-17, fig. CP XII-3).

and Śiva-Yogīśvara, called Kāmadahanamūrti. If we keep track of Pallava vestiges north of the River Kāviri no image of Devī as teacher has been reported (cf. table in Kalidos 2006: III, 130). Śiva is a teacher as Dakṣiṇāmūrti, and Viṣṇu as teacher appears in the Vaikuṅṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kāñci (Kalidos 2006: I cf. pls. LXXII.2, LXXIV.1); note few images of Viṣṇu in the mould of Dakṣiṇa (Fig. 13; Rajarajan 2011a: figs. 1-2, 5, 9-10). Images of Devī as teacher fail to appear in the contemporary art of the Deccan (Kalidos 2006: III, plates). The *Lalitā-sahasranāma*/'Lalitā' [epithet no.]-725 invoke 'Dakṣiṇāmūrtirūpiṇī' or Gurumūrtiḥ 'Lalitā'-725/604. It is futile to trace Devī-teacher in the early medieval art of South India. The images of Viṣṇu-Dakṣiṇa (Rajarajan 2011a) are post-Nāyaka, dated in the eighteenth century or later (Fig. 13).

II

The question of Yoginī orientation of the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci or any other temple built by Rājasimha is an issue that needs to be solved. The fact is that the Yoginī temples of Central, Eastern and other parts of northern India are dated in the later medieval period, post-ninth/tenth century CE. Their link with the Tamil tradition is a problem to reckon with. The inscriptions in the Kailāsanātha of Kāñcīpuram do not suggest any such interpretation. An inscription in the main shrine of Kailāsanātha calls it Rājasimheśvara (ARE 1988: no. 1). Another record in the same temple (see note 1) calls it Śrī Nityavinīteśvaragrham "All the time *vinīta* (decorous or lovely) Temple" (ARE 1888: no. 5). Śrī is not important as it could be prefixed with the name of a God (e.g. Tirumurukan, cf. Zvelebil 1981), god-man (e.g. Śrī Rāmānuja) or place name (e.g. Śrīraṅgam) and even a book (e.g. Śrīmat *Bhagavatgītā* and *Tiruvācakam*). The essential idea is Īśvara-*grham* (Temple or Īśvara/Śiva) or Pallavaneśvaram (Temple of the Pallava); cf. other examples Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*grham* in Māmallapuram,

Brah-Eśvara-*lakṣitāyatanam*¹¹ and so on. Mahendravarman's Śiva temple is called Mahedravarmeśvara-*grham* (ARE 1988: no. 4, idid. 1932-33, no. 1). The mere presence of goddesses may not entitle it be called a center of Yoginī worship (cf. Kaimal 2005). In fact the image/s of Devī may be found in any Śiva or Viṣṇu temple through the ages; e.g. Gajalakṣmī in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* (Fig. 15) and Adivarāha-Viṣṇu-*grham*. Structural similarities between Kāñci and Khajurāho or Hīrāpūr alone may not be sufficient evidences. In the context of plan Kāñci is oblong and Khajurāho and Hīrāpūr are circular. The basic question is from where the idea disseminated and at which point of time? Kailāsanātha is dated in the early eighth century and Khajurāho later ninth century CE (Deva 1985: 54, Chakravarty et al eds. 1994: xi). Epigraphical attentions and Tamil literary evidences on the dedication of a temple to a particular god or goddess are very important. Especially, foundation inscription do play a key role in ascertaining cult orientation. Speculations may be attempted when no written record is available.

The *Koṭikkāl-maṇḍapa* in Māmallapuram is guarded by *dvārapālikās* in its threshold, which guides art historians to consider it a temple for Devī (Srinivasan 1964: 107-10). There is no cult image in the sacred chamber. The presence of the female guardians on the doorway is not sufficient enough to declare it for the Goddess. The main monolithic rock-cut temple in the macro Cave XVI of Ellora called Kailāsa (Manakeśvara in the thirteenth century Marāṭhi literature – Ranade 1988: 112) is guarded by *dvārapālikās*. The shrine chamber of the monolith accommodates a Liṅga. Therefore, it could not be a temple for Devī (cf. Rajarajan 2011a: 141); cf. the *Koṭikkāl-maṇḍapa* above. When compared with the Kailāsa of Kāñci, the Kailāsa in Ellora is much more intricate and accommodates several small chapels for the goddesses; e.g.

¹¹ *Āyatana* stands for the “temple” (Srinivasan 1964: 47). It was the name given to the Maṅṭakappaṭṭu rock-cut cave, noted in inscriptions (ARE 1905: no. 56).

Yajñaśālā for the Mātṛkas and other gods,
 River Goddesses' Chapel,
 Gajalakṣmī placed at a nodal point to the main entrance
 of the monolithic temple and the narrow passage for
 entry into the Lañkeśvara (Soundararajan 1981: pl.
 CIV.B),
 Mahiṣamardinī and so on

Ellora was a base of the Kāpālika and Kālāmukha cultists and so there is every possibility of considering Cave XVI a center of Tantric/Yoginī cult (cf. Parimoo et al. eds. 1989). The setting of the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci is entirely different. We do find the Mātṛkas accommodated along the southern row of *devakulikās* but it could not be placed on equal footing with the Yajñaśālā of Ellora.

Another good example in Ellora is Cave XIV. There is no cult image in the *garbhagrha*. A pedestal meant for *mūlabera* is present. The *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the cave is a spacious venue, which on the right and left walls (as one makes an entry) accommodates images of Śiva (e.g. Naṭarāja) and Viṣṇu (Śrī, Varāhamūrti). The circumambulatory passage on the southern wall provides for the seated images of the Sapta Mātṛkas, Kāla, Kālī and others. K.V. Soundararajan (1981: 114) suggests it could have been dedicated to Devī. In the absence of Liṅga in the *garbhagrha*, it could also be considered a cave temple for Viṣṇu if the Vaiṣṇava images on the left wall are given the due credence. Cave XV[-B] is designed on the same model in its upper floor. Cave XV-B is dedicated to the Liṅga but designed to accommodate the Trimūrti concept on parallel line with the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci (cf. Fig. 18). For several paradigms in Indian art the answer is only in “heaven” as it has been humorously remarked (cf. Hardy 1998: 134).

About twenty-five images of Devī are specified as sorted out in the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci. The location of these images is:

Four on the *mukhamaṇḍapa* sections, four in southern *devakulikās*, three on southern *devakoṣṭhas*, and nine on the northern *devakulikās* and so on.

The iconographical variables are Jyeṣṭhā 3, Durgā? 3, Sarasvatī 2, Lakṣmī 3, Mātṛkas 1? (7), Yoginīs? 4, Umāsahita 1 and Umā watching Śiva's tour de force 8 (Kaimal 2005).¹² Among these nine are part of Śaiva themes and could not be counted under Devī. Another scholar lists the following images of Devī's in the *devakulikās* (Kalidos 2006: III, 96-97):

- 5th Siṃhavāhinī (an epithet of Devī appearing in the *Devīmāhātmya*, *Adhyāya* 2, v. 34)
 17th Maḥiṣāsūramardinī Fig. 17 (posted on *mahiṣa-pīṭha*)¹³
 18th Sapta Mātṛkas (Haripriya 2004: fig. 37, Kalidos 2006: III, pl. LIII*)
 * The plate is in reverse order

The images designated Yoginīs (Fig. 6) are called Yogīśvarī (cf. Tapasvinī in Dehejia 1986: 196) and Siṃhavāhinī (Kalidos 2006: III, 97-98). Two images alone subscribe to the concept of Yogīśvarī (Figs. 6 & 10) and the others could not be brought under Yoginīs.¹⁴ Two are called Yogīśvarī because the eyes are closed in meditation and the left hand is in *dhyānamudrā* (Figs. 6 & 10). One carries the *triśūla* and *paraśu* and the other appears with the *siṃha* and *mṛga* behind the face (cf. the images of Devī posted on *mahiṣa-pīṭha* in Māmallapuram Fig. 17 – Kalidos 2006: III, pls. XLVII.1 & LI). That means these two are

¹² All images of Gajalakṣmī and Siṃhavāhinī (Figs. 9-10) will have to be taken into account in an assessment of cult within the roof of the temple and not on the basis of random selection (Kalidos 2006: III, 95, cf. Kaimal 2005: fig. 14). Do the images located in a particular quarter of the temple have anything to say on Tantric *yantras* (cf. Dehejia 1986: 209, 212-13)? Cf. Fig. 20.

¹³ The identification is supported by the Tamil epic, *Cilappatikāram* (20. 34-36) that says Korṟavai/Maḥiṣamardinī stands on the decapitated head of a buffalo that spills cold blood (Fig. 17):

Aṭartteḷu kurtiyāṭaṅkāp
pacuntunip piṭartalaip pīṭam ēriya maṭakkoṭi
Verrivēṟṟaṭakkai Korṟavai

Cf. Parthasarathy 1993: 187. For a discussion on Durgā and Maḥiṣamardinī see Kalidos 1989 and Berkson 1997.

¹⁴ Cf. the several lists of Yoginīs in Dehejia 1986: 194-218. Yoginī is beyond the reach of human effort because they are supposed to be sixty-four-crore that attend on the Cosmic Mother, 'Mahācatuṣṣaṣṭikoṭi Yoginīgaṇasevitā' ('*Lalitā*'-237).

typologically different. They are counterparts of Yogīśvara (Figs. 7-8) found in the juxtaposed *devakoṣṭha*, seated in *utkuṭikāsana* with the legs tied by *yogapaṭṭa*. The same type of Yogīśvara is present in other Pallava temples of Kāñci such as the Pīravātaneśvara (Fig. 8). Again, not less than 38 such miniature-stucco representations are located on top the *vimāna* sections of the *devakulikās* in the Kailāsanātha (Kalidos 2006: II, 195). Taking into consideration all these male-dominated images, it is better the Kailāsanātha is viewed a base of the Yogīśvara cult. It may also consider the builder, Kāṭavarkōṅ-Rājasimha was patriarchal (*vide*, Annexure I). In case of Ellora's Cave XVI, attention is invited to the huge monolithic Yogīśvara on plinth of the temple opposing the mammoth of Gajasamhāra (Kalidos 2006: II, pls. XXI-XXII). With the advent of Yogīśvara (cf. *Śivasahasranāma*, epithet no. 760 'Sarvayogi'), his coadjutor Yogīśvarī (*Devīmāhātmyam*, 'Devīkavacam', v. 35) automatically arrives at the venue. This gesture is further supported by the presence of Kāla and Kālī in the Ellora caves, e.g. XIV, XVI, XII (cf. Shinn 1984:175-97). Another issue for consideration is whether Yoginī-['Lalitā']-653, Yogadā-654, Yogyā-655, and Yogānandā-656 are on the same plane iconographically (cf. Figs. 6 & 10).

When we take into account the main object of worship in the Pallava structural and cave temples (e.g. Kailāsanātha et alii in Kāñci and the Mahiṣāsūramardīnī-*maṇḍapa* in Māmallapuram), i.e. the Liṅga and Somāskanda on back wall the question of dual representation, *dvaita* does not arise (Kaimal 2005: 53-54). These images are basically oriented toward the Trimūrti concept. None of the contemporary cave or structural temple dedicated to either Śiva or Viṣṇu provides a separate chapel for Devī to find the male and female in balance. The separate enclave for the Mātrkas in Cave XVI has to be viewed on the same plane with the River Goddesses chapel appearing on the other side of deep rock excavation. I do not know whether any scholar considers the Mātrkas in these cases Yoginīs. From the Gupta Udayagiri or Rāmgarh (Berkson 1978: 215-32) in Madhya-Bhārata (see the grotto for the Mātrkas close to Cave VI – cf. Williams 1983: fig. 35, Simha 1987: 80-86, Rajarajan

2011: fig. 4) coming down to the Pāṇḍya in the Far South, including the later phase of Rāṣṭrakūṭa art we do not have evidences of Śiva/Umā and Viṣṇu/Śrī occupying the same house. If Māmallapuram and Kāñci are taken for case studies, we do not find any such two-in-one representation; e.g. Varāha-*maṇḍapa*, Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gr̥ham*, Vaikuṅṭha Perumāḷ¹⁵ and so on. Mahiṣamardinī may be found in separate enclave but not Śrīdevī.¹⁶ K.R. Srinivasan (1972: 148) affirms separate chapels for Devī, called *tirukkāmakkoṭṭam* emerged only during the Middle Cōḷa period during and after the time of Rājendra I (1012-44 CE). It is added separate shrine for Tāyār, the Mother in Vaiṣṇava tradition came to picture since then. Such separate entities occupying a large space (e.g. the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara in Maturai or the Vaṭapatrasāyī-Āṇṭāl in Śrīvilliputtūr) proliferated during and after the Vijayanagara period,¹⁷ having its root in later Pāṇḍya temples of the thirteenth century CE.

The Liṅga again is viewed against the Trimūrti concept in medieval *śilpaśāstras*. The Liṅga stone basically consists of tripartite division; the square base Brahmāṃśam, the middle octagonal Viṣṇuvāṃśam and the circular top Śivāṃśam (*Kaśyapaśilpaśāstra* 49.85, *Śilparatna* 2.66, Kalidos 2001: 173). Therefore, it is a symbolic of the Trimūrti merged in an entity; other examples of the type being Liṅgodbhavamūrti (Kalidos 2003: figs. 3-22, Jeyapriya 2009a: 158-59, pl. I), and Ekapādamūrti (Grossato 1987: 247-82, figs. 3, 10-15; Kalidos 2004: fig. 7, Rajarajan 2006: fig. 93, Jeyapriya 2009a: 159-60, pl. IIIb) found in the Shore temple at Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: II, pl. LXXIV.1). The Pallava Somāskanda is another

¹⁵ Devī's chapel in this temple and the frontal *maṇḍapa* are later additions. The Paramēccuta-*viṅṅakaram* of Tirumaṅkai Ālvār (*Periya Tirumoli* 2.9.1-10) does stop with the row of historical sculptures that go around the main temple. The *agramaṇḍapa*, Devīs chapel and other fittings are later additions.

¹⁶ Separate chapels for Śrī were not found during the early medieval period (cf. Kalidos 2006a: 141-54, Narayanan 1998: 88).

¹⁷ In such a case all temples and images listed in HariPriya Rangarajan 2004 may be taken for granted as Yoginīs. This author does not even employ the word, Yoginī while at the same time notes *Yoginī-tantra* (HariPriya 2004: 76-77). It may be of interest to scholars in Yoginī studies that HariPriya (2004: figs. 1, 20, 26) considers Mahiṣamardinī/Durgā (cf. Dehejia 1986: 194, 217) and Siṃhavāhinī as Vārāhī.

anthropomorphic version of the abstract Liṅga. The pivotal Mūrti in Somāskanda is Śiva; Brahmā and Viṣṇu appearing behind his head to the right and left (cf. Bailey 1979: 152-63, Kalidos 2006: II, pl. LXXVI.1). However, this sophisticated ideology is beyond the reach of an art historian if he considers the Harappan Liṅga, dated around 2,750 BCE (Fleming 2009: 440-58, Doniger 2011: 485- 508, Rajarajan 2012: figs). Different ancient cultures of the world have left *liṅga* vestiges (cf. Rawson 1984: figs. 2, 146); cf. the phallus as an auspicious symbol among the ruins of Pompeii (Priapus in Carpiceci n.d.: 63 fig).

No Yoginī temple of the Khajurāho or Bherāghāṭ model may be found in Tamilnadu. The Central Indian and Eastern Indian temples accommodate the Cauṣaṭha- or Catusṣaṣṭi- Yoginīs within a common hypaethral roof, *digambara* and not one or two sporadically. There is a temple for Vārāhī in a small village called Paḷḷūr (Fig. 14), near Vēlūr (slang Vellore) in northern Tamilnadu that scholars may consider a Yoginī temple. A similar stray image may be found in the Rājarājeśvaram of Tañcāvūr in its southern courtyard set amid a lawn (Haripriya 2004: fig. 18).¹⁸ In the latter case we find images of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Mahiṣamardinī in *devakoṣṭhas* of the main temple. These are not considered Yoginīs. The Paḷḷūr temple maybe of the Nāyaka time and the Goddess is a village deity. Whether it is a sporadic temple for the Yoginī Goddess is an issue for further exploration in respect of its iconography and cult setting in a rural atmosphere. It may open new avenues of research on Hinduism in the South Asian context with reference to Sanskrit and Tamil sources (cf. Rajarajan 2007).

The [Tirup]Paraṅkuṅṅam cluster of cave temples on the northern slopes of the hill provide separate houses for Mahiṣāsuramardinī posted on *mahiṣa*-head (cf. Fig. 17), Gajalakṣmī, Aṅṅapūraṅī or Bhuvaneśvarī and Jyeṣṭhā arranged in a pyramidal pattern (Fig. 20). It could by all means be a

¹⁸ Consider for example the monumental Śrīvilliputtūr temple where inscriptional evidences assign the Aṅṅāl temple to the time of Sundara Pāṇḍyadeva in the later half of the 13th century, 1274 CE (ARE 1926: no. 533).

veritable base of Yoginī cult. Entry into these chambers is strictly prohibited for non-Hindus and so none could say anything on this Śākta center specifically and emphatically. Scholars do not take such ideas already published very seriously (Rajaraajan 1991: 395-408, figs. 1-3, 6; cf. Branfoot 1998: 114-22).¹⁹ R. Nagaswamy's 1982 idea of Tantric/Yoginī in Tamil tradition could not be taken for granted in the light of the above discussion. There may be tens of hundreds of temples for the goddesses in Tamilnadu and none goes by the name, Yoginī (cf. the list in Kalidos 1989: 261-73). He fails to take into account the Paraṅkuṅṅram temple and the Tamil sources very seriously (cf. Nagaswamy 2006: 22, Kalidos 2012: 33-34). An important idea to be brought to scholarly attention is reiterated in a Tamil 'Encyclopaedia of Temples'. It says none of the temples in Kāñci accommodate a separate shrine for Ammaṅ/Devī because Kāmākṣī is the Universal Mother (*Kōyirkaḷaṅciyam* 46). The venue of Kāmākṣī temple seems to have been accredited Tantric label since the Middle Cōḷa period. Therefore, there is no chance of male and female in balance in any of the Śiva temple of Kāñci. It is added:

*Kāñciyil uḷḷa Civaṅ koyil etilum Annaikku canniti
kiṭaiyātu* (Sundaram 2012: 16) "There is no separate
chapel for Annai/Mother in any of the Śiva temples of
Kāñci"

The cult of Yoginīs in north Indian tradition did center on the worship of the sixty-four within a circular *maṅḍala*. The 'Lalitā'-237 talks of *Mahācauṣaṣṭikoṭi-Yoginīgaṅasevita*, Devī whom sixty-four-crore Yoginīs do serve. This type of Yoginī or

¹⁹ The article fixes the rock-cut temples within the format of a Śrīcakra (Fig. 20); cf. Devī's epithets 'Ājñacakraḅjanilayā' and 'Visuddhicakranilayā' ('Lalitā'-521, 475). The Tirupparaṅkuṅṅram temple reorganized in the 9th century CE by Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya I for dedication to the Mothers as a center of Śākta creed (see inscription cited in Rajaraajan 1991: 408, figs). We find images of Korṅṅavai, Gaḷalakṣmī, Bhuvaneśvarī and Jyeṣṭhā in *garbhagrhas* in a cluster of rock-cut caves (Fig. 20). It is up to experts in Yoginī studies to further examine whether Paraṅkuṅṅram was a base of Yoginī cult. Fig. 20 is added here to earmark the Śākta orientation of the cave temples in the Paraṅkuṅṅram north group (cf. Rajaraajan 1991: figs. 3, 6; Cf. Branfoot 1998: fig. 4.6).

Tantric cult was beyond the ken of Tamil tradition. South Indian texts talk of seven prime or chosen Yoginīs (*Lalitopākhyāna* cited in *Śrītattvanidhi* 1.9-15, cf. Dehejia 1986: 205). They are Gupta-, Guptara, Saṃprada-, Kulottīrṇa-, Nirgarbha-, Rahasya- and Adhirahasya-, all suffixed with the common genre *yoginī*. It may be welcome to take into account a South Indian canon when talking of the Tamil regional religious tradition. The seven Yoginīs listed do not appear in the Kailāsanātha. The goddesses in the northwestern *devakoṣṭhas* are named Kauśikī and Jyeṣṭhā (Srinivasan in Meister & Dhaky eds. 1999: 62; cf. Dehejia 1986: 194 for Kauśikī). It is not clear what exactly the names of images identified with Yoginīs are (Kaimal 2005: fig. 13). Four Yoginīs are listed and their names are not evident. The names of the Yoginīs listed from the Kailāsanātha (e.g. Jyeṣṭhā, Sapta Mātrkas, Lakṣmī, Umā in Umāsahitamūrti, Sarasvatī, and Durgā) do not tally with the several lists presented in Dehejia 1986. The presence of two or four Yoginīs alone is not sufficient enough to arrive at the cult of Yoginīs. We need at least seven. Independent images of Vārāhī and Lakṣmī could not be treated Yoginīs; cf. the stray image in Tañcāvūr Middle Cōḷa temple and Vārāhī of Paḷḷūr.

An important dimension of the studies relating to Kāñci is that the Ekāmranātha temple (Tamil Ēkampam, meaning “monolithic-pillar” *Tēvāram* 3.299.1-6) was a base of the Kāpālika and Pāśupata Tantric ritualism by about the early seventh century CE, noted in the *Mattavilāsa* of Mahendravarman I c. 610-30 CE (Barnett 1929-30: 697-717).²⁰ Scholars have not taken into serious account the religious imagery and Tantric setting of the Ekāmranātha. Here, again, the problem is we may not come across images of Yoginīs in

²⁰ A record setting 160 *Tēvāram* hymns extol the praise of the *kṣetras* of Kāñci such as ‘Ēkampam’, ‘Mēṅṅali’, ‘Aṅṅekatañkāvatam’, ‘Neṅṅikkaraikkāṭu’ and ‘Mayāṅṅam’ “crematorium”. None of the hymn considers Devī as the Mother-Absolute or Yoginī. The regional Drāviḍian tradition would expect scholars to give the due consideration to Tamil sources (cf. Kalidos 2012: 33-76, Rajarajan 2012b: 233-70). Ēkampam was the meeting place of Pāśupatas, and Kāpālikas following the Tantric rituals attested by the *Mattavilāsa* (Barnett 1929-30: 697-717). The hymns on Ēkampam alone are 120 none of which notes the Yoginī (Rajarajan 2007).

the meant order of seven or sixty-four. I have visited the temple several times and found no evidence to support the cult of Yoginīs. Kāñci by tradition was divided into four segments such as Śiva-kāñci (Ēkampam/Kailāsanātha zone), Viṣṇu-kāñci (Vaikuṅṭha Perumāl/Varadarāja zone), Jīna-kāñci (Tirupparuttikuṅṅam) and Buddha-kāñci – not extant (Raman 1973: Chap. I). It is tempting to pose the question: was there a Devī-kāñci or Yoginī-kāñci; maybe the Kāmākṣī temple area in the heart of the city. The Kāmākṣī temple dates since the time of Kulōttuṅga III (inscription dated in 1217 CE, ARE 1954-55: no. 357). It is considered one among the Śakti-*pīthas* and not Yoginī-*pītha*. Philip Rawson (1981: fig. 13, cf. Comfort 1997: fig. p. 23) has reported definitive archaeological evidences of Yoni worship²¹ (cf. the *yoni* stone within the *garbhagr̥ha* of the Kāmākṣī temple – Kalidos 1990: 126, note 12). Evidences of Yoginī cult or Yoni worship are remote in the Kailāsanātha. The history of Kailāsanātha stops with the eighth century CE.²² There was no addition in the form of temple structures thereafter. No trace of Cōḷa or Vijayanagara-Nāyaka vestige is traceable. Under such a stalemate, it is an unrewarding job to search for Yoginī worship in the Kailāsa of Kāñci. The Ēkampam is a promising alternative field that registers monuments ranging from the Pallava (e.g. Vālīśvara close to the tank in the exterior *prākāra*) to the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka (e.g. the southern *rāyagopura* and the nearby sixteen-pillared hall). More than 120 exuberant *Tēvāram* hymns (Rajajaran 2007) speak of its cult orientation sometimes belittled by art historians.²³ The Tamil sources need to be consulted for a cross

²¹ White (2003: 137) lists a number of ruined Yoginī temples, including Kōyamputtūr in Tamilnadu.

²² Patronage of the temple continued unabated down to the time of Cōḷa Rājarāja III (1242 CE – ARE 1888: no. 25). Post-Pallava patronage is confirmed in the inscriptions of Parāntaka I (922 CE – ARE 1888: no. 25), Rājendra I (1022 CE – ARE 1888: no. 31) and others. The donations mostly pertain to perpetual lamps and *devadāna* (tax-free) lands and not for any architectural addition or renovation.

²³ This author dates Appar and “Sambandar” in the “2nd century”. He adds Nāṅacampantar “had sung four hymns”, “Thirunāvukkaracar...seven hymns” and “Sundaramurti...only one hymn” (Nagaswamy 2006: 22-23). See above note 20. Sivakumar 2012 presents a summary of 160+ hymns bearing on the *kṣētras* of Kāñci. Rajajaran 2007

cultural examination of autochthonous temple setting (Kalidos 2012, Rajarajan 2012).

Coming to the Kailāsanātha, the dependable art historical evidence that point out Yoginī cult is Gajalakṣmī (Donaldson 1986: 136-82, figs.; Kalidos 1990: 115-43, figs. 3-25; Kaimal 1995: 58-59). She is seated in a posture that would permit one to speculate on *yoni* worship; cf. Devī's epithet 982, Yonimudrā in the 'Lalitā'-982 (Fig. 9). The precedence of iconographical examples may be found in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* (Fig. 15) and Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*grham* of Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: III, pls. XLVIII.1, cf. LIV.1, LV.1) or Cave XX in Ellora (Rajarajan 2011: figs. 41, 61). Other solid testimony could not be obtained from the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci to prove the worship of Yoginīs. In all probability, the images of Yoginī-like goddesses in large in number came to the forefront with the Cōlas and Vijayanagara-Nāyakas who had political contact with Eastern India, particularly Kalinga/Orissa, catchment zone for the Tantric orgies. Literary works such as the *Takkayākapparāṇi* of Oṭṭakkūttar (1150+ CE – Zvelebil 1974: 198, 212) are later medieval. Nearly half a millennium (about 450 years) does intervene in between the Kailāsa of Kāñci and the *Takkayākapparāṇi* (cf. Jeyapriya 2009: 38-40).

The setting of the Yoginī temples of Khajurāho, Bherāghāt and Hīrāpūr (Orissa) are totally different from the Kāñci landscape. The other centers of Yoginī worship in the north are Rāñipūr Jharial, Shahdol (M.P.), Mitāuli and Didhāi (Orissa). Few of these temples are in ruins and the images removed to nearby museums (Das 1994: 30-31, figs. 1-11, cf. Misra 2000: 13-18, Brooks 2002: 57-75, Choudhury 2004: 7-9, Urban 2011: 231-47). I am told a number of Yoginī images of Kāñci are accommodated in the museums of North America, dated in the tenth-eleventh century CE. The Kailāsanātha is dated in the early eighth century. This is what I could say because I have no access to the museum images in North America.

presents a summary of the sixty-eight hymns bearing on the fourteen Vaiṣṇava *divyadeśas* of Kāñci. The Tamil hymnal sources have not been seriously considered by historians of religion and art; cf. a summary of the hymns bearing on Ardhnārīśvara with the Tamil original transcribed in Roman script (Rajarajan 2012: 249-60).

A good example from Tamilnadu for the idea of *yoni/yoginī* worship is the Kōṇiyammaṅ (slang of Yonidevī or Yonimudrā ‘Lalitā’-982, cf. Lopāmudrā²⁴) in Kōyamputtūr (Das 1994: 29). Its cult root may be placed on a par with the Kāmākṣī Ammaṅ temple of Kāñci. However, the history of the temple may not be anterior to the Vijayanagara-Nāyakas; note Paḷḷūr above.

Iconographically speaking the north Indian Tantric/Yoginī/Śrīvidyā-Śākta (Brooks 2002) is full of the spirit of eroticism, and the images are greedy and lascivious. Images in the Tamil country do not show the depth of erotic impulse as in the north. In this context, I consider it worth comparing the images of Mātṛkas, particularly Cāmuṇḍā from north India and the Tamil country (Panikkar 1997: figs. 93, 95, 109, 171, 196 with 192-193). Scholars studying the Central and Eastern Indian Yoginīs have pointed out the hinging affinity with the Tantric *pañcamakāras* (Lorenzen 1991: 89-90, Das 1994: 27-37 figs, Brooks 2002: 57-75, Haripriya 2004: 76-77, Einoo 2009). The temples are circular in form, a design that shows its relationship with *cakrāsana* in erotic dalliance of the esoteric Śākta and Kāpālika schools (Comfort 1997: figs. pp. 21, 41). This is not the scenery that one finds in the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci. Maybe the Ēkampam (*supra*) was the venue of such orgiastic practices; cf. the *kāpāli*-Satyasoma in *Mattavilāsa* all the time drunk and comforting his itching mate Devasoma (Kalidos 2006: III, 33-34).

All lion-motifs in the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci or the Rājasimha phase of Pallava temples need not be associated with Devī. The lion, *simha* as revealed in the *Devīmāhātyam* was the *vāhana* of Devī and played its role in the annihilation of Mahiṣāsura and his fellow-demons. Devī was called Simhavāhinī (*Devīmāhātyam*, 2.34) for whom the lion was the vehicle. Mahiṣāsura during war with Devī is said to have disguised as

²⁴ Lopāmudrā was the wife of sage Agastya. Dowson (1998: 181) adds: “Her name is explained as signifying that the animals suffered loss (*lopa*) by her engrossing their distinctive beauties (*mudrā*), as the eyes of the deer...She is also called Kaushitakī and Varapradā. A hymn in the *R̥g Veda* is attributed to her”. Cf. Kaushitakī and Kauśikā (Srinivasan 1999: 62). Lopāmudrā is one among the *upāsakas* of Vārāhī; others being Īśāna, Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā and many more (Haripriya 2004: 56).

siṃha, *mahāgaja* and so on (*Devīmāhātmyam*, *Adhyāya* 3, vv. 30-31). Another important idea is that Devī manifested as the Mātrkas to annihilate the assistants of Mahiṣa (ibid. Chap. 8, vv. 15-20). The *Pañcamo'dhyāya* (Chap. 5, ll. 23-76) of the *Devīmāhātmya* views Devī in different forms such as “sleep”, “hunger”, “modesty” and so on and is finally called Kālikā. In these metaphors the “lion” is not counted:

Cf. Nidrārūpeṇa, kṣudhārūpeṇa, Chāyārūpeṇa,
 Śaktirūpeṇa, tṛṣṇārūpeṇa, kṣāntirūpeṇa, jātirūpeṇa,
 Lajjārūpeṇa, Śāntirūpeṇa, śraddhārūpeṇa, kāntirūpeṇa,
 Lakṣmīrūpeṇa, vṛttirūpeṇa, smṛtirūpeṇa, dayārūpeṇa
 tṛṣṭirūpeṇa, Mātrrūpeṇa, and bhrāntirūpeṇa

The lion seems to denote the Pallavas allegorically as revealed by their names such as *Siṃhavarman*, *Nṛsiṃha* and *Rājasimha*. Interesting, the images of two sets of eleven related images in the Mahendravarṃeśvara are considered representing Ekādaśa-Rudras, and eleven-Pallava kings (Kalidos 2006: II, 254) treated equals of Rudras (Figs. 11-12); cf. *Narasimha-Viṣṇu* (*Rājasimha*) is called *Kālakāla* (ARE 1888: no. 6), a title that Śiva is credited with (*‘Kālakālaṅ’ Tēvāram* 1.50.6). Lions appear in the Pallava temples as well as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kailāsa in Ellora. These massive images in the monolithic plinth of the temple are not associated with Devī (cf. Kaimal 2005: 63, cf. Hardy 2012: 103 *siṃha* is a *miśraka* “mixed” type of temple). The elephant and lion are common decorative motifs (cf. Fig. 3) shared by the Pallavas and Calukyas; elephant denoting the Calukya and lion the Pallava.²⁵

²⁵ Such metaphors are common in the interpretation of Indian art; cf. G.J.R. Mevissen (1994: 483-95) considers the images of Tripurāntaka set in Cōla temples, supposed to face the direction of the land of Western Calukyas of Kalyāṇi, the arch-enemy of the Cōlas.

Generalization

The Kailāsanātha is likely to have been acclimatized toward the Trimūrti cult. The fixation of images in the Rājasimheśvara suggests the Pallavanization of Trimūrti concept. It fails to appear in the contemporary Pāṇḍyan zone, excepting the rock-cut cave for Śiva in the north group of Paraṅkuṅṅam (Fig. 20).²⁶ Basically, the ideology is rooted in the Liṅga and Somāskanda housed in the two *garbhagrhas* of Rājasimha and Mahendravarmaṅ. The idea may be pinpointed;

- i) The *garbhagrha* of Rājasimheśvara houses the Liṅga and Somāskanda,
- ii) The central *devakulikā* on the western wall houses Somāskanda (*saha-Umā-Skanda-[Śiva]*),
- iii) The *devakulikā* on the south parallel to the Liṅga in the *garbhagrha* is reserved for Brahmā,²⁷ and
- iv) The corresponding *devakoṣṭha* on the north is reserved for Viṣṇu.

Thus, we arrive at a triangle the apex of which is occupied by Śiva (Fig. 18).²⁸ The presence of Śiva in the crest and Brahmā and Viṣṇu in secondary and tertiary chambers would confirm the orientation of the temple toward the Trimūrti concept.

²⁶ Two rare samples have been reported from the Western Calukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa temples. The Kāśī-Viśvanātha temple, close to the Virūpākṣa in Paṭṭadakkaḷ houses an image on ceiling of the *mukhamanḍapa*. The other image is on the southern *koṣṭha* of the *antarāla* in the main monolithic shrine-chamber of Cave XVI, Ellora (Kalidos 1997: 319-20, fig. 7; cf. Kalidos 2001).

²⁷ The programme is in marked contrast with the Early Cōḷa and later Śiva temples in which the *devakoṣṭha* on the north and the northern *talas* on the *vimāna* elevation (e.g. Pullamankai) are reserved for Brahmā (Harle 1958: 96-108, cf. Rajarajan 2011a: fig. 7).

²⁸ Such triangles could be formed in respect of the Tiruccirāppaḷli lower cave of the Pāṇḍya period (Srinivasan 1972: 41-42, 55-56). It consists of two shrine chambers in the east for Viṣṇu, facing west and west for Śiva facing east. On the back wall are five bas relief that accommodates Brahmā in center, juxtaposed by image of Śiva right and Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa left. The two shrine chambers and bas relief of Brahmā form a triangle (Rajarajan 2003: 568-71). The type of triangular formation is possible in case of Śaivite Cave XV in its upper floor, Ellora (Soundararajan 1981: fig. 24). The *garbhagrha* of the cave allows scope for linking it with the empty chambers found on the right (for Brahmā) and left (Viṣṇu) of the side walls. In this case the images on the right row are of Śiva and left that of Viṣṇu.

Independent images of Trimūrti-s; Śiva-Viṣṇu-Brahmā, do appear within a larger frame in the Lañkeśvara in Ellora (Śiva-core), Milk Maids Cave in Ellora no. XXVII (Viṣṇu-core), Tiruccirāppallī lower cave (Brahmā-core) and the Bhūtanātha rock-carvings in Badāmī; for illustrations see Soundararajan 1981: pls. C.A, LXI.B; Kalidos 1994: fig. 6; 2006: I, pl. XXXVI.2; II, pls. XXIX.1, XXXIV.2; Rajarajan 2012: fig. 66.

Trimūrti was a familiar ideology with the early medieval (c. 550-850 CE) temples. It is proved by examples from the Pallava, Calukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa temple organization. The Trimūrti concept begins with Maṅṭakappaṭṭu rock-cut temple (cf. the inscriptional attestation “Brahm-Eśvara-Viṣṇu” Srinivasan 1964: 47 - diacritics mine) and proceeds with the Trimūrti-*maṅḍapa* in Māmallapuram housing cult anthropomorphic images. The Bhairavakoṇḍa Cave V housing the bust of Trimūrti (Soundararajan 1981: pl. CXXXII, Rajarajan 2012: fig. 15) on its back wall registers the inscription “Śrī Brahmīśvara Viṣṇu”. Such images of Trimūrti bust (Fig. 16) are redundant in the Ellora caves (e.g. a small chapel in Cave XV and the Lañkeśvara in Cave XVI); cf. Soundararajan 1981: pls. XXXI.A, XCVIII.B, CXI.A, CXXXII; Kalidos 2006: II, pl. XXVIII.2; Kalidos 2004: figs. 3-5, cf. fig. 6. Therefore, the Trimūrti concept as an underlining idea of the cult organization in early medieval cave temples could not be overlooked. In addition, the Kailāsanātha seems to have emphasized the concept of Yogīśvara that appears in a subsidiary chapel on the northeast corner,²⁹ facing east. More than 30+ miniature-images of Yogīśvara in *devakoṣṭhas* and top of the *prastara* in the *devakulikās* do make their presence felt. It seems Trimūrti capsules the idea of Yogīśvara. The anti-climax is the visualization in ‘Lalitā’-626 that invokes Devī with the

²⁹ Yogīśa fourth in Group VI and seventh in Group VIII (*vide*, Attachment II) do come under the *Aṣṭāṣṭa*-Bhairavas. These may be the counterparts of the *Aṣṭāṣṭa*-Yoginīs; cf. the lists in Dehejia 1986: 194-218, Venkatanathan 1992: 137-40, Jeyapriya 2009: 2. The sixty-four Bhairavas are listed in *Śrītattvanidhi* 2. 126-31. The original data is presented in *grantha* and Tamil in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. Annexure II in English version may be of help to compare the *Aṣṭāṣṭa*-Yoginīs with *Aṣṭāṣṭa*-Bhairavas. Interestingly, Bhairava is not present in the Kailāsanātha temple.

epithet, ‘Trimūrṭiḥ’; cf. Pallava Somāskanda that folds up Śiva, Devī, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and baby Skanda, and the evenly balanced form of Trimūrṭi is the Liṅga. The frozen ideology is expressed in other iconographical forms such as Liṅgodbhava and Ekapāda (Jeyapriya 2009: figs). Within the masculine Trimūrṭi, Devī is embedded and not expressed.

The ritualistic procedure of worship in the Kailāsanātha temple would demand one to visit Nandi first,³⁰ located at the eastern extremity of the complex (as prescribed in the idea of movement in Fig. 19).³¹ The cultist offering worship to Nandi is expected to move in circumambulation and proceed to the *dvāraśobha* gateway, offer worship to the *gopura-puruṣa* and *dvārapālakas* and enter the Mahendravarmeśvara. Now the *sādhaka* is within the sacred boundary of the holy of holies. At the main threshold to the temple on either side of the *gopura*, *dvārapālakas* must have been installed; now they are missing. The initiator moves to the left and makes an entry into the Rājasimheśvara through a narrow passage on the southern wall that connects two integral parts of the temple (see route in plan Fig. 19). He may visit each *devakulikā* on the southeast and south of the temple and offer worship to the divinities enshrined in each of the model shrine or directly proceed to Brahmā installed in *devakulikā*. On the other side the wall of the main temple accommodates Dakṣiṇāmūrṭi. Offering worship to these

³⁰ The *balipīṭha* and *dvajastambha* are missing. It is not clear whether the original installation of Nandi was in its present location. We may take into account the original Cōḷa Nandi of the time of Rājārāja I (986-1014 CE) lay in the southeast corner of the Tañcāvūr temple. The present Nandi in case of Tañcāvūr and his *maṇḍapa* are of the Nāyaka period (Rajajaran 2006: pl. 25).

³¹ The plan of the Kailāsanātha first drafted by Fergusson (1986: fig. 209) was followed by Rea 1909 (reproduced in Meister & Dhaky 1999: fig. 41, Kaimal 2005: fig. 4, Kalidos 2006: 182, fig. 9) does not conform to the existing temple structure. Two exits do exist today on the southeast and northeast corner of the Mahendravarmeśvara (cf. Figs. 18 & 19 with Fergusson’s plan). In Fergusson there is no exit on the southeast. R.K. Parthiban (Brandenburg Technological University, Cottbus) that computed the graphics for plans 18 & 19 said something is wrong with Fergusson’s plan. The exit on the southeast in his time seems to have been closed. Now, it is open. If there is an exit in the north, there should be one in the south, e.g. the Vīrabhadra and Aghoreśvara temples in Keḷadi and Ikkēri (Rajajaran 2006: plans 13 & 14). Later during the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka period exists were provided in four cardinal directions; e.g. Citamparam and Maturai fitted with massive *rāyagopuras*.

divinities, one moves westward. Somāskanda is installed on the central *devakulikā* in the west. The initiator stops here for worship. He moves in circumambulation, turns to his right and reaches the *devakulikā* in which Viṣṇu is installed. Worship is partly completed and then the initiator moves round the *mukha-* or *agramaṇḍapa* of the Rājasimheśvara and gets into the inner part of the sacred shrine through its southern entrance. Worship is offered to the *mūlabera* and the initiator exists through the same southern *dvāra*.³² From the Rājasimheśvara he is expected to get out by the northern narrow passage moving to his left and reaches the *garbhagrha* of Mahendravarṃeśvara (now-a-days the shrine is all the time closed). From this spot he gets out of the temple through the exit provided on the southern side of the temple. The exit could also be the north depending on the demands of the ritual worship. Today, all visitors check out by the *dvāraśobha* exit. It all depends on why the devotee visited the temple, his appeals to the Lord, his supplications and so on.³³ The emphasis in the above procedural circumambulation finds no place reserved for Devī or Yoginī. Therefore, the logical conclusion is that the Kailāsanātha is not a center of Śākta/Yoginī or Tantric worship. The ritual pattern in the Kailāsa of Kāñci could not be compared with Khajurāho, Bherāghāt and other central and eastern Indian Yoginī temples.

Another important pattern is that none of the nine auxiliary chapels (“abutting”, “corner or lateral sub-shrines” or “*karṇa* shrines” Srinivasan 1999: 59, 62), facing cardinal and intermediary directions appended to the main temple house

³² The *garbhagrha* is *sāndāra* and provides for *pradakṣiṇapātha*. There is a narrow passage by which one stoops to get into the inner part of the temple through the south, circumambulate the holy of the holies and come out through the narrow passage on the north. Hindus are permitted in this zone. All visitors are not particular on this circumambulation due to the difficulties in getting into the inner core.

³³ *Nityapūjā* does take place in the Rājasimheśvara. Mythologies affirm visits to temples were undertaken due to various reasons. Afflictions if any (*brahmahatti* evil of killing a *brāhmaṇa*) are removed when one visits a temple. It is believed the *hatti* temporarily relieves a person when he gets into the temple and repossesses him when he comes out by the same gateway. Therefore, mythologies suggest if *hatti*-haunted man enters the temple through the eastern gateway he gets out through the south or north (cf. *Tiruvilaiyāṭar Purāṇam*, Episode 40; Jeyapriya & Rajarajan 2013: Chap. II).

Devī in the holy of holies (Figs. 18-19). The Mūrtis in the *pradakṣiṇa* pattern are Umāśahita (southeast corner, east-facing), Yoga-Dakṣiṇa, Bhikṣāṭana, Kaṅkālamūrti*, Naṭeśvara*, Tripurāntaka* (*west – west-facing), Kālasaṃhāra, Yogīśvara, and Gaṅgādhara (northeast – east-facing) are singularly masculine forms (Srinivasan 1999: 62). Devī does not occupy any of the *karṇa* shrines. The feminine here is left-oriented, an inferior status in Umāśahita (Goldberg 2002: 54 citing Kalidos 1993, 1994).

The Kailāsanātha accommodates Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā with their Devīs or the Devīs appear in *devakulikās* in exceptional cases.³⁴ Any prayer addressed to the Father (‘Ammāṅ’ *Tēvāram* 6.298.1) automatically reaches the Mother (‘Ayī’ ‘Lalitā’-427).³⁵ Naïvely this idea is conveyed in the mythology of sage Bhṛṅgi (Mani 1996: 141). To begin with a fanatic adherent of Śiva, finally he was compelled to accept Devī. Above all, Devī is Trimūrtiḥ (‘Lalitā’-628) and Śrīvidyā, the root of all letters and *mantras* (ibid. 585). Orthodox Śaivas may not offer worship to Devī in a temple for Śiva. The vice versa of the problem is that an ardent follower of Devī may not accept Śiva. By Tantric practices such as *mithuna*, it is believed Śiva-Śakti could be realized³⁶ through ritual practice of *pañcamakāra*.

The Tantric mode of worship prevailed in remote areas unfrequented by the mass; e.g. Khajurāho amidst agricultural fields today away from the majestic temples’ complex. Certain centers of the Tantric worship maybe identified in early

³⁴ In God-dominated temples the Lord is visited first; e.g. Kūtal Aḷakar in Maturai and Naṭarāja in Citamparam. In Goddess-dominated temples the Mother is visited first; e.g. Maturai-Mīnākṣī, Śrīraṅgam-Raṅganāyākī and Śrīvilliputtūr-Āṅṭāl. In some Mother-oriented temples, the main cult figure is Devī, e.g. Kōṇiyammaṅ in Kōyamputtūr.

³⁵ ‘Ayī’/‘Āttā’ in folk Tamil stands for the Mother Goddess popularized in the contemporary movie world. *Āttā* (contextually “bastard”) in the Cheṅṅai region is a vituperative vocabulary. In the Maturai region ‘Āttā’ is dignified, addressed to the mother.

³⁶ Devī called Yoginī (‘Lalitā’-653) does occupy the various *cakras* in the *kuṇḍalini-yoga*. Yoginī are the expressive way of her various powers (*Lalitāsahasranāma*, p. 147). Basically ‘Yoginī’ means one united with Śiva (‘Śivaḥ-Śaktiā yuktah’ *Saundaryalaharī*, *śloka* 1).

medieval south India, e.g. Paraṅkuṅṅam (Fig. 20), Caves XX and possibly cave XVI in Ellora, the Ambikā temple in Aihole and so on. It is hasty to generalize all temples are of Yoginī/Tantric affiliation, particularly the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci. Yoginī and Tantric mode of worship of Devī involves complicated esoteric rituals. She is difficult to reach. We will have to learn more and more of Devī and see the Goddess again and again. It is candidly said in a recent work (Kalidos 2006: III, 151):

“Devī is an enigmatic symbol, the Śrīcakra; she resides at the Cosmic threshold Dvāravāsini (Cakrarāja-niketanā “dwells in the king of Cakra, the Śrīcakra” ‘Lalitā’-245); she is the Queen of Dancers, Naṭeśvarī (‘Lalitā’-734); she is the mistress of *yoginīs*, Yogīśvarī (*Devīmāhātmyam*, ‘Devīkavacam’ 35)... Śakti thematizes the mysteries of life and poses an eternal challenge to anyone who aspires to undertake a trekking to discover her mysteries. It is a difficult voyage (parenthesis mine).”

Droṇācārya advised Arjuna to look at the bird’s eye. I look at the iconography of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram beyond the replastered images and Yoginīs. All that is found today in the Kailāsanātha is not Pallava. Neither the Pallava nor the Cōla inscriptions in the temple support such a notion. It is admitted there were few centers of Śākta worship within the decent limits of the early medieval city of Kāñci around the 7th-8th century CE, e.g. the Ēkampam. Paraṅkuṅṅam in the Pāṇḍya country is another good example. The later arrivals are Kāmākṣī of Kāñci, Vārāhī of Paḷḷūr and the K[Y]ōniyamman of Kōyamputtūr. The Kāmākṣī temple during the later medieval period came to be recognized a Śakti-*pīṭha*. Mīnākṣī/Maturai, Kāmākṣī/Kāñci and Viśālākṣī/Kāśī came to be added to the cream of Tamil Śākta ideology in course of the historical times imbued with the spirit of Śaktism. It may conclude the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci was neither Yoginī-oriented nor a base of Śākta cult if viewed beyond the replastered images.

Acknowledgement

As post-doctoral fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (1999-2002), I had the privilege of being tutored by Adalbert J. Gail of Institute für Indische Philologie und Kunstgeschichte der Freie Universität Berlin. I am thankful to R.K. Parthiban IIT, Hyderabad (doctoral scholar), Kalasalingam University (teaching). He computed the plans for this article and wanted me to add note 31. It is obligatory to add he worked out nearly twenty-five plans for my doctoral thesis (Rajarajan 2006: II, plans I-XXV), cited in the present article. The ASI officers, Fort St. George, Chennai clarified me certain details of temple organization in August 2013.

* The author had to revisit the temple in December 2016 for photographic documentation.

Attachment I Hagiography of Kāṭavarkōṇ-Kaḷarciṅkaṇ

Kāṭavarkōṇ Kaḷarciṅkaṇ was one among the 63+ Nāyaṇmār (for list of 71 see Sitanarasimhan 2006: 126-29). His hagiography is told in Episode 57 of the *Tiruttoṅṭar Purāṇam* (TTP) of Cēkkiḷār (twelfth century CE). He is identified with Rājasimha Pallava. The ‘nāyaṇār’ (cf. Dehejia 1988) is first noted in the *Tiruttoṅṭattokai* of Cuntarar (later half of the eighth century). The king is supposed to protect the wide world surrounded by the oceans: ‘Kaṭalcūḷnta ulakellāṇ kākkiṇra perumāṇ Kāṭavarkōṇ Kaḷarciṅkaṇ’ (*Tēvāram* 7.39.9). Nampi Aṅṭār Nampi in the eleventh century (Zvelebil 1974: 91) elaborates the myth in a quatrain (*Tiruttoṅṭar Tiruvantāti*, v. 64). Nampi says the saint-king cut the nose of his wife for smelling a flower meant for offering to the Lord. Nampi seems to be a mischievous poet because he says the hand that cut the nose was a golden-hand, *porḱai*. The contemporary of Kaḷarciṅkaṇ was another ‘nāyaṇār’ called Pūcalār. Pūcalār’s hagiography is told Episode 71 of Cēkkiḷār. Pūcalār was a poor man and built a temple for the Lord in his mind, having collected the needed money by imagination (‘cintaiyāl tirattiḱkoṅṭār’ TTP 71.5). He conjured up *taccar/takṣakas* and built a mind-temple, *mānasa-mandira*. The imaginary temple was up to the expectations of āgamas such as *āti* (*upapīṭha*), *āti* (*adhiṣṭhāna*), *upāṇam* (*upāna*), *cikaram* (*śikhara*), *tūpi* (*stūpi*), *cutai* (stucco work) and *matil* (wall). It is added the King of Kāṭavas (i.e. Pallava), Kāṭavarkōmāṇ built a *kaltali* “stone temple” at Kacci/Kāñci (TTP, 71. 6-9). It is interesting to note ‘Periyatirukkarāḷi Mahādeva’; Lord of the Big Stone Temple appears in an inscription of Parāntaka I 922 CE (ARE 1888: no. 25). Pūcalār and Kaḷarciṅkaṇ chose an auspicious day for *pratiṣṭha* of their respective temples that fell on the same day. The hagiography says Śiva honoured Pūcalār by his presence in the mind-born temple and not the stone temple of Kāṭavarkōṇ. Kaḷarciṅkaṇ is said to have resorted to the Ārūr temple and cut off the nose of his queen. These events are illustrated in the

sculptural panels of the Tārācuram temple, erected by the later Cōla Rājarāja II 1163-79 CE (Poongodi 2006: 36-45).

The above episodes point out whether there was anything wrong with the building of the Kailāsanātha temple from the āgamic or ritualistic expectations. It is not clear that may be the reason why Śiva did not appreciate Kaḷarciṅkaṅ for building a temple. The references to *āgama* and the architectural parts of the temple in the hagiographies of Pūcalār are pointers of his proficiency in the *śāstras*. Such practical abnormalities in the application of *āgama* and *śāstra* are told in other hagiographies of saints such as Tirunālaippōvār (Manickam 1991). In case of Caṇḍikeśvara the problem was in the context of a folk sand-Liṅga offered *abhiṣeka* of milk. The authors of *bhakti* hymns did not differentiate between the high and low, the *brāhmaṇa* or *kṣatriya* and a *pañcama* or *pulaiya*. In any case the building of a temple by Rājasimha Pallava is corroborated by epigraphical, literary, hagiographical and archaeological sources. Rājasimha's identification with Kāṭavarkōṅ seems to be on the right track.

Attachment II Names of Aṣṭāṣṭa-Bhairavas

The following extract is from the *Śrītattvanidhi* (3.126-30) that cites the *Rudrayāmaḷa* for its source of information. The sixty-four Bhairavas are brought under eight groups of eight. It may be of interest to scholars who study the Yoginīs in relation to Bhairava; cf. 'Lalitā'-785 'Mārttāṇḍa-Bhairavārādhyā'.

- I Asitāṅga, Viśālākṣa, Mārttāṇḍa, Svascchandra, Viḡhnaśāntuṣṭha, Vajrahasta, Khecara and Sacarācara.
- II Ruru, Krodadaṃṣṭra, Jaṭādhara, Viśvarūpa, Virūpākṣa, Ņānarūpadhara, Vajrahasta and Mahākāya.
- III Caṇḍa, Piṅgalākṣa, Bhūmikampa, Nīlakaṇṭha, Viṣṇu, Kualapālaka, Muṇḍapāla and Kāmapāla.
- IV Krodha, Piṅgalekṣaṇa, Abhrrarūpa, Dharāpāla, Kuṭhila, Maṅṭanāyaka, Rudra and Pitāmahākhyā.

- V Unmatta, Aṭunāyaka, Śaṅkara, Bhūtavetāla, Trinetra, Tripurāntaka, Varada and Pitāmahākhyā.
- VI Yogīśa, Kapāla, Śiṣubhūṣaṇa, Hastivarmāambaradhara, Brahmaṛākṣasa, Sarvajña, Sarvadeveśa and Sarvabhūtanṛdiṣṭhira.
- VII Bhīṣaṇa, Bhayahara, Sarvajña, Kālāgini, Mahāraudra, Dakṣiṇa, Mukhara and Sthira.
- VIII Saṃhāra, Ātiriktāṅga, Kālāgni, Priyaṅkara, Ghoranātha, Viśālākṣa, Yogīśa and Dakṣasaṃthira.

Iconographically the sixty-four are *caturbhujā* and take different weapons or emblems.

- I Golden in colour and handsome mien; the hands carry *triśūla*, *damaru*, *pāśa* and *khaḍga*.
- II White in colour, their ornaments are studded with gems. The hands carry *japamālā*, *aṅkuśa*, *puṣṭaka* and *vīṇa*.
- III Blue in colour, they are auspicious *subhalakṣaṇa*. The hands carry *śakti*, *gadā*, *kuntāyudha* (fourth missing).
- IV The colour is *dhūmravarṇa* and bestows all those desired. The hands carry *khaḍga*, *kheṭaka*, *paṭṭīśa* (sharp-edged weapon) and *paraśu*.
- V White in colour, they are *manohara* (charming). The hands carry *kunta* (spear or lance), *kheṭaka*, *parighāyudha* (club) and *bhīṇḍipāla* (short javelin or arrow).
- VI to VIII Colour pattern VI yellow, VII red, VIII lightening; the hands carry *kunta*, *parigha* and *bhīṇḍipāla* (fourth not given).

REFERENCES

- ARE: *Annual Epigraphical Reports*, Madras 1888, 1905, 1926, 1954-55.
- Bailey, G.M. 1979. Trifunctional Elements in the Mythology of Hindu Trimūrti. *Numen* 26/1, 152-63.
- Barnett, L.D. 1929-30. Mattavilāsa. A Farce by Mahēndravikaramavarman. *Bulletin of the Oriental and African Studies*, V, 697-717.
- Beal, Samuel n.d. *SI-YU-KI Buddhist Records of the Western World (transl. from Chinese of Hieuen Tsiang – 629 A.D.)*, 2 vols. London.
- 1911. *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang by Shaman Hwui Li*. London.
- Berkson, Carmel 1978. New Finds at Ramgarh Hill, Vidhisha District. *Artibus Asiae*, 40/2-3, 215-32.
- 1997. Thinking with the Myth of Mahisamardini. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, 72, 7-23.
- Branfoot, Crispin 1998. 'The Nayaka Temple Complex Architecture and Ritual in Southern Tamilnadu 1550-1700' (Ph.D. diss.) London: SOAS, University of London.
- Brooks, Douglas Renfrew 2002. Auspicious Fragments and Uncertain Wisdom: The Roots of Śrīvidya Śākta Tantricism in South India. In Katherine Anne Harper & Robert L. Brown eds. *The Roots of Tantra*. 57-75. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Carpiceci, Alberto C. n.d. *Pompeii 2000 Years ago and today*. Viale Ariosto: Bonechi Edizioni "Il Turismo".
- Chakravarty, K.K. et al. eds. 1994. *Khajurāho in Perspective*. Bhopal: Commissioner of Archaeology and Museums.
- Choudhury, Janmejay 2004. Origin of Tantricism and Sixty-four Yoginī Cult in Orissa. *Orissa Review*, October 7-9.
- Cilappatikāram* 1977. Chennai: Kaḷakam ed.
- Comfort, Alex 1997. *The Illustrated Koka Shastra Medieval Indian Writings on Love Based Kama Sutra*. London: Simon Schuster Edition.
- Das, H.C. 1994. Hypaethral Yoginī Temples of Khajuraho and Orissa: A Comparative Study. In K.K. Chakravarty et al. eds. *Khajurāho in Perspective*. Bhopal: Commissioner of Museums, Bhopal.

- Dehejia, Vidya 1986. *Yoginī Cult and Temples*. New Delhi: National Museum.
- 1988. *Slaves of the Lord, the Path of the Tamil Saints*. New Delhi.
- Deva, Krishna 1969/1985. *Temples of North India*. New Delhi: National Book Trust.
- Devīmāhātmyam* 1953. Mylapore/Chennai: Sri Ramakrishna Mutt.
- Devīsahasranāma* 1990. In Anandimangalam K. Narayanasvami Ayyar 'Sarvadevatāṣṭottara Sadanāmāvalimālā' 199-244. Chennai: Bhavani Book Center.
- Donaldson, Thomas E. 1986. Erotic Rituals on Orissan Temples. *East and West*, 36/1-3, 137-82.
- Doniger, Wendy 2011. God's Body, or, The *Lingam* Made Flesh: Conflicts over the Representation of the Sexual Body of the Hindu God Shiva. *Social Research*, 76/2, 485-508.
- Dowson, John 1998 (reprint). *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology & Religion*. Calcutta: Rupa & Co.
- Einoo, Shingo ed. 2009. *Genesis and Development of Tantricism*. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
- Fergusson, James 1976/1972. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Fleming, Benjamin J. 2009. The Form and Formless of Śiva: The Liṅga in Indian Art, Mythology, and Pilgrimage. *Religion Compass*, 3/3, 440-58.
- Ganapati *Sthapati*, Vai. 1978. *Cirrpaccennūl* (Regulated Book of Sculpture) in Tamil. Madras: Tamilnadu Department of Technical Education.
- Gonda, Jan 1970. *Śivaism and Viṣṇuism: A Comparison*. London.
- Goldberg, Ellen 2002. *The Lord who is Half Woman: Ardhanārīśvara in Indian and Feminist Perspective*. Albany: State University of New York press.
- Grossato, Alessandro 1987. 'Shining Legs' the One-footed Type in Hindu Myth and Iconography. *East and West*, 37/1-4, 247-82.
- Hardy, Adam 1998. Forms, Transformation and Meaning in Indian Temple Architecture. In G.H.R. Tillotson ed. *Paradigms of Indian Architecture. Space and Time in Representation and Design*, 107-135. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.

- 2012. Indian Temple Typologies. In T. Lorenzetti & F. Scialpi eds. *Glimpses of Indian History and Art*, 101-25. Rome: Sapienza University of Rome.
- Haripriya, Rangarajan 2004. *Images of Vārāhī. An Iconographic Study*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Harle, J.C. 1958. The Early Cōḷa Temple at Pullmankai (Pasupatikoyil). *Oriental Art*, IV, 96-108.
- Harper, Katherine Anne & Robert L. Brown eds. 2002. *The Roots of Tantra*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Jeyaripya, Rajarajan 2009. *Terrific Manifestations of Śiva: Virabhadra*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- 2009a. Rare Images in the Iconographic Profile of Nāyaka Art. *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale*, 69, 157-66.
- Jeyapriya, R. & R.K.K. Rajarajan 2013. *Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara: The Tirvīlaiyāṭar Purāṇam in Letters, Design and Art*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Kaimal, Padma 2005. Learning to See the Goddess Once Again: Male and Female in Balance at the Kailāsanāth Temple at Kāñcīpuram. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 73/1, 45-87.
- Kalidos, Raju 1988. The Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi Cave Temples. *South Asian Studies*, 4, 57-69.
- 1989. Iconography of Mahiṣāsuramardīnī: A Probe into Stylistic Evolution. *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen, L, 7-43.
- 1989a. *Temple Cars of Medieval Tamiḷaham*. Madurai: Vijay Publications.
- 1990. Yoninilayā: Concept and Application in South Indian Art. *East and West*, 40/1-4, 115-43.
- 1993. The twain-face of Ardhanārī. *Acta Orientalia*, 54, 68-104.
- 1994. Vāmācāra Viṣṇu in Hindu Iconography: A Problem in Sociological Values. *East and West*, 44/2-4, 275-91.
- 1997. Pallava Elements in Chāḷukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Art. In K.K. Chakravarty & O.P. Mishra eds. *The Bounteous Tree Treasures in Indian Art and Culture* (Homage to Dr. H.V. Trivedi), 2 vols. Sharada Publishing House: Delhi.
- 2001. Somāskanda and Trimūrti: Parallel Iconographic Concepts. In A.V. Narasimha Murthy et al. eds. *Hemakuta: Recent Researches in Archaeology and Museology*, I, 170-79. Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan.

- 2003. Liṅgodbhavamūrti in Early Medieval Art and Literature. *Acta Orientalia*, 64, 77-136.
- 2006. *Encyclopaedia of Hindu Iconography: Early Medieval* (4 vols.): I *Viṣṇu*, II *Śiva*, III *Śakti Goddesses*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- 2006a. With the Earth as a Lamp and the Sun as the Flame-A Review. *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies*, XXIV/1, 141-54.
- 2010. Māmallapuram Revisited. In R.K.K. Rajarajan ed. *Studies in Art History of India*, 13-17. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- 2012. Tamil Literary Traditions: Their Relevance in the Study of Indian Arts. In T. Lorenzetti & F. Scialpi eds. *Glimpses of Indian History and Art Reflections on the Past, Perspectives for the Future*, 33-76. Rome: Sapienza University of Rome.
- Kaśyapaśilpaśāstra* 1968. Ed. and Tamil transl. K.S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Thanjavur: Sarasvati Mahal Library.
- Kōyirkaḷañciyam: Cenḱai-M.G.R. Māvaṭṭa Kāñcipuram Kōyilkaḷ* (Storehouse of Temples: Kāñcipuram Temples) in Tamil 1994. Kō.Mu. Muttucāmi Piḷḷai ed. Thanjavur: The Tamil University.
- ‘Lalitā’: *Lailāsahasranāma* 1975. C. Suryanarayana Murthy ed. Bombay: Bharadiya Vidya Bhavan.
- Lorenzen, David N. 1972/1991. *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. Two Lost Śaivite Sects*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Lorenzetti, Tiziana & Fabio Scialpi 2012. *Glimpses of Indian History and Art. Reflections on the Past, Perspectives for the Future*. Rome: Sapienza University of Rome.
- Mahalingam, T.V. 1969. *Kāñcipuram in Early South Indian History*. Bombay/Delhi: Asia Publishing House.
- 1989. *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Tamil Nadu and Kerala States, II Chingleput District*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research & S. Chand & Co.
- Mani, Vettam 1964/1996. *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Manickam, Sundararaj 1991. *Nandanar Syndrome*. Madurai: Madurai Theosophical Society.
- Meister, Michael W. & M.A. Dhaky 1983/1999. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture South India Lower Drāviḍadēśa 200 B.C. – A.D. 1324*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers (American Institute of Indian Studies).

- Mevisen, Gerd J.R. 1994. Political Geography as a determinant in South Indian temple art? A Case study of Tripurāntakamūrti. In Asko Parpola & Petteri Koskikallio eds. *South Asian Archaeology 1993. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, Helsinki University 19991*, 483-95. Helsinki: Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B, 271.
- Misra, Prithviraj 2000. Shiva and His Consorts: The Yoginīs of Hirapur. *Manushi*, 118, 13-18.
- Monier-Williams. Monier 1899/2005. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Nagaswamy, R. 1982. *The Tantric Cult of South India*. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.
- 2006. Shaivism in Kanchi. Nandhitha Krishna ed. *Kanchipuram A Heritage of Art and Religion* 19-26. Chennai: The C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation.
- 2011. *Viṣṇu Temples of Kāñcīpuram*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld.
- Narayanan, Vasudha 1998. Śrī Giver of Fortune, Bestower of Grace. In John S. Hawley & Donna M. Wulff eds. *The Divine Consort Rādhā and the Goddesses of India*, 224-37. Berkeley: Religious Studies Series.
- Panikkar, Shivaji K. 1997. *Sapatamāṭṛkā Worship and Sculptures*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld.
- Parimoo, Ratan et al. eds. 1988. *Ellora Caves Sculptures and Architecture*. New Delhi: Books & Books.
- Parthasarathy, R. 1993. *The Cilappatikāram of Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ. An Epic of South India*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Parthiban, Rajukulidos 2013. The Spice Road 'Vaṭakarai' Zamīndāri: Its Historicity and Architectural Remains. *Acta Orientalia*, 74, 91-121.
- Periya Tirumoli* 2008. In 'Nālāyirativviyappirapanatam' 2 vols. Chennai: The Little Flower Company.
- Poongodi, G. 2006. *The Rajarajewvaram at Taracuram*. Thanjavur: Durai Publication.
- Rajarajan, R.K.K. 1991. Further Light on the Tirupparankuṅram Caves. *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale*, Napoli, 51/4, 395-408.

- 2000. Dance of Ardhanārī as Pattiṇi-Kaṇṇaki with special reference to the Cilappatikāram. *Berliner Indologische Studien*, 13/14, 401-11.
- 2003. The two rock-cut Temples at Tirucirāppalli. *South Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 568-71. Tiruchirappalli: South Indian History Congress.
- 2006. *Art of the Vijayanagara-Nāyakas Architecture & Iconography*, 2 vols. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- (2007) Early Historical Setting of Kāñci and its Temples. *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies* 25.1: 23-52.
- 2011a. Dakṣiṇāmūrti on vimānas of Viṣṇu Temples in the Far South. *South Asian Studies*, 27/2, 131-44.
- 2011b. Aihole Revisited. *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale*, 71/1-4 (forthcoming).
- 2012. *Rock-cut Model Shrines in Early Medieval Indian Art*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- 2012a. Śivasahasranāma. An Analysis of Epithets in the Art Historical Context. 22nd Conference of the International Association of Historians Asia: Surakarta/Solo, Java.
- 2012b. Dance of Ardhanārī A Historiographical Retrospection. In T. Lorenzetti & F Scialpi eds. *Glimpses of Indian History and Art Reflections on the Past, Perspectives for the Future*, 233-70. Rome: Sapienza University of Rome.
- (2013) The Drāviḍian/Tamil Concept of Religion. Is 'sanātanadharma' a Religion? Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad, SAP Conference Paper.
- Raman, K. 2012. 'Stucco Images in the Sacred Śiva Temples of the Kāñci Region' (Ph.D. diss.) Thanjavur: The Tamil University.
- Raman, K.V. 1973. *Śrī Varadarājasvāmi Temple, Kāñci*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- Ranade, P.V. 1988. Echoes of Ellora in Early Marāṭhi Literature. In Ratan Parimoo et al. eds. *Ellora Caves Sculptures and Architecture*, 108-18. New Delhi: Books & Books.
- Rawson, Philip 1981. *Oriental Erotic Art*. New York: Gallery Books.
- Rea, Alexander 1909. *Pallava Architecture*. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series XXXIV.
- Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta 1971. *A History of South India*. London: Oxford University Press.

- 1972. *Foreign Notices of South India*. Madras: University of Madras.
- Sathianathaier, R. 1987. *Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam*. Madras: Prof. R. Sathianathaier Commemoration Committee.
- Saundaryalaharī* 1990. English trans. V.K. Subramanian. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Shinn, Larry D. 1984. The Goddess. Theological Sign and Religious Symbol. *Numen*, 31/2, 175-98.
- Śilparatna* 1961. Devanadacarya ed. Tamil transl. Thanjavur: Sarasvati Mahal Library.
- Simha, D. Sribagavan 1987. *Guptakālīn Hindu Deva-pratimāye* in Hindi, (Hindu Iconography of the Gupta Period). 2 vols. Delhi: Ramananda Vidya Bhavan.
- Sitanarasimhan 2006. *Śaivism under the Imperial Cōlas as Gleaned through their Monuments*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Sivakumar, S. 2012. Śiva Temples of Kāñcīpuram (Ph.D. diss.) Annamalai Nagar: Annamalai University.
- Sivaramamurti, C. 1960/1984. *Chola Temples*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Śivasahasranāma* 2002. Mylapore/Chennai: Sri Ramakrishna Matha.
- Soundararajan, K.V. 1981. *Cave Temples of the Deccan*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Srinivasan, K.R. 1964. *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- 1972. *Temples of South India*. New Delhi: National Book Trust.
- 1999. Pallavas of Kāñci: Phase I. In M.W. Meister & M.A. Dhaky *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture. South India 200 B.C. – A.D.1324 Lower Drāviḍadēśa*, 59-64. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
- Śrītattvanidhi* I 1964/2002. In *Grantha* with Tamil transl. K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar. Thanjavur: Sarasvati Mahal Library.
- Sundaram, Civa. 2012. *Tirukkōyilkaḷ 234* (Sacred Temples 234) in Tamil. Tiruvallur: Sundara Patippaka,
- Takkayākapparaṇi* 1960. U.V. Saminathaier ed. Chennai: U.V. Saminathaier Nūl Nilayam.
- Tamil lexicon* 1982 (reprint) 6 vols. Madras: University of Madras.
- Tēvāram*, 2 vols. 1973. Chennai: Kaḷakam ed.

- Tiruttonṭar Purāṇam* 2007. In Cā.Vē. Cuppiramaṇiyaṅ ed. ‘Paṇṇiru Tirumuṟai’, 1073-1299. Chennai: Maṇivācakar Patippakam.
- Tiruvīlaiyāṭar Purāṇam* (5 vols.) of Parañcōti 2012. Chennai: Vartamāṇaṅ Velīyītu.
- Urban, Hugh B. 2011. The Womb of Tantra: Goddess, Tribals, and Kings in Assam. *The Journal of Hindu Studies*, 4, 231-47.
- Venkatanathan, T.S. 1992. Aṣṭabhuja-Bhairava: A Bronze in the Madurai Museum. *Annali dell’ Istituto Universitario Orientale*, 52/2, 137-40.
- White, David Gordon 2003. *Kiss of the Yoginī. “Tantric Sex” in its South Asian Contexts*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Williams, Zoanna G. 1983. *The Art of Gupta India Empire and Province*. New Delhi: Heritage Publishers.
- Zvelebil, Kamil V. 1974. *Tamil Literature*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1981. *Tiru Murugan*. Adaiyaru/Chennai: International Institute of Asian Studies.

Figures

Fig. 1. Exterior view of the Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 2. Original Pallava make-up, Somāskanda in southeastern end within the Rājasimheśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 3. Dakṣiṇāmūrti in southeastern *devakoṣṭha*, Rājasiṃheśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 4. Distorted/Replastered Dakṣiṇāmūrti, *Agramaṇḍapa* of Rājasimheśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 5. Partly distorted Dakṣiṇāmūrti in a northern *devakulikā*, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 6. Tripurāntaka attended by Yogīśvarī and Siṃhavāhinī, Western *devakoṣṭha*, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 7. Yogīśvara in northern *devakoṣṭha*, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 8. Yogīśvara in *utkuṭikāsana*, Iṣvātaneśvara Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 9. Gajalakṣmī in *devakulikā*, Mahēndravarmēśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 10. Siṃhavāhinī attended by Jyeṣṭha and Yogīśvarī in northern *devakoṣṭha*, Rājasiṃheśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)

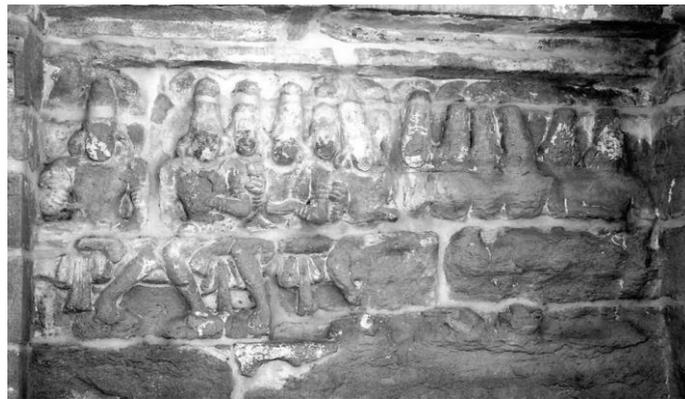


Fig. 11. Ekādaśa-Rudras, northern *devakulikā* in Mahēndravarmēśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 12. Ekādaśa-Pallava kings, southern *devakulikā*, Mahendravarmeśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 13. Viṣṇu-Dakṣiṇa, Kōḷūr *divyadeśa*, District Tūttukkuṭṭi (photo by R.K. Parthiban)

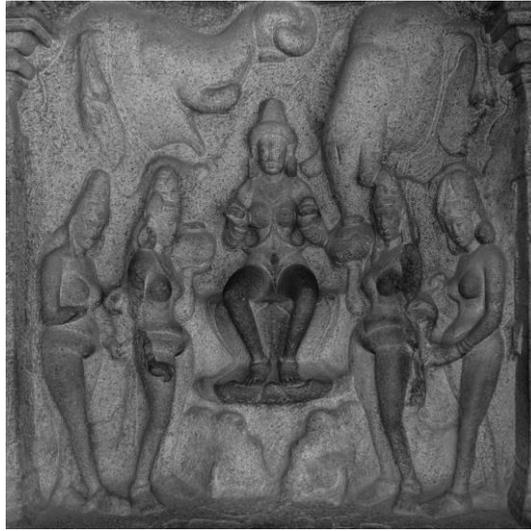


Fig. 14. Gajalakṣmī, Varāha-*maṇḍapa*, Māmallapuram (author's photo)



Fig. 15. Vārāhī-grāmadevatī, Paḷḷūr (author's photo)



Fig. 16. Trimūrti, Cave V, Bhairavakoṇḍa (photo by Raju Kalidos)



Fig. 17. Mahisamardinī posted on buffalo-head, Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-grham, Māmallapuram (author's photo)

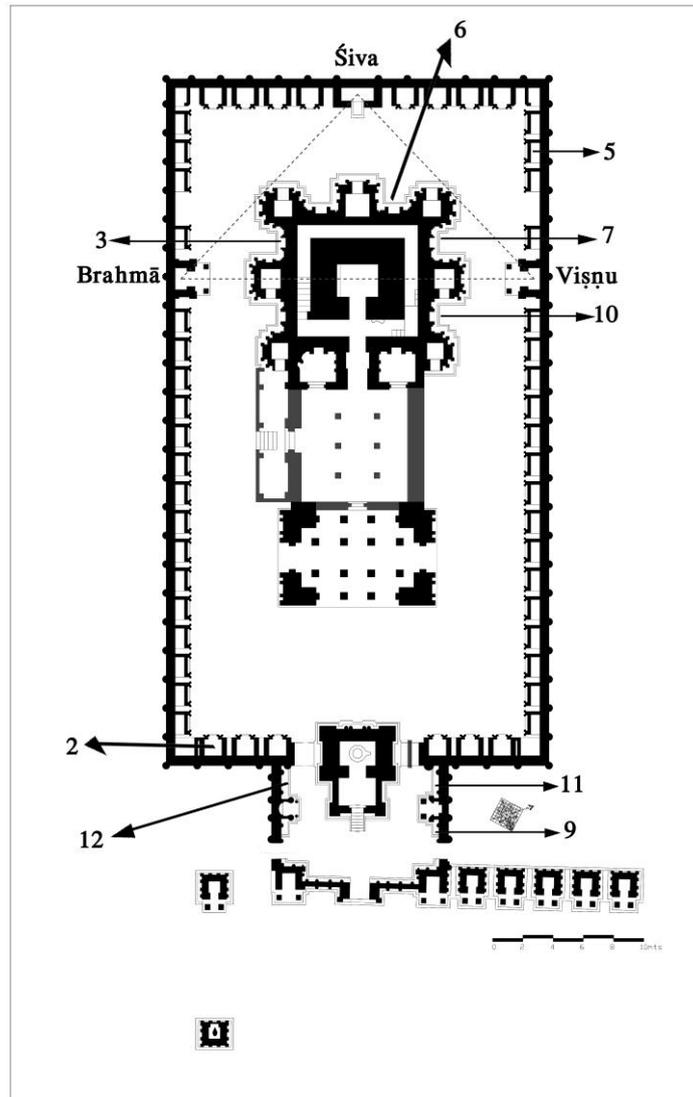


Fig. 18. Plan of the Kailāsanāṭha Temple Kāñci: i) Trimūrṭi earmarked, ii) Images illustrated in the article (figs. 2-7, 9-12) located

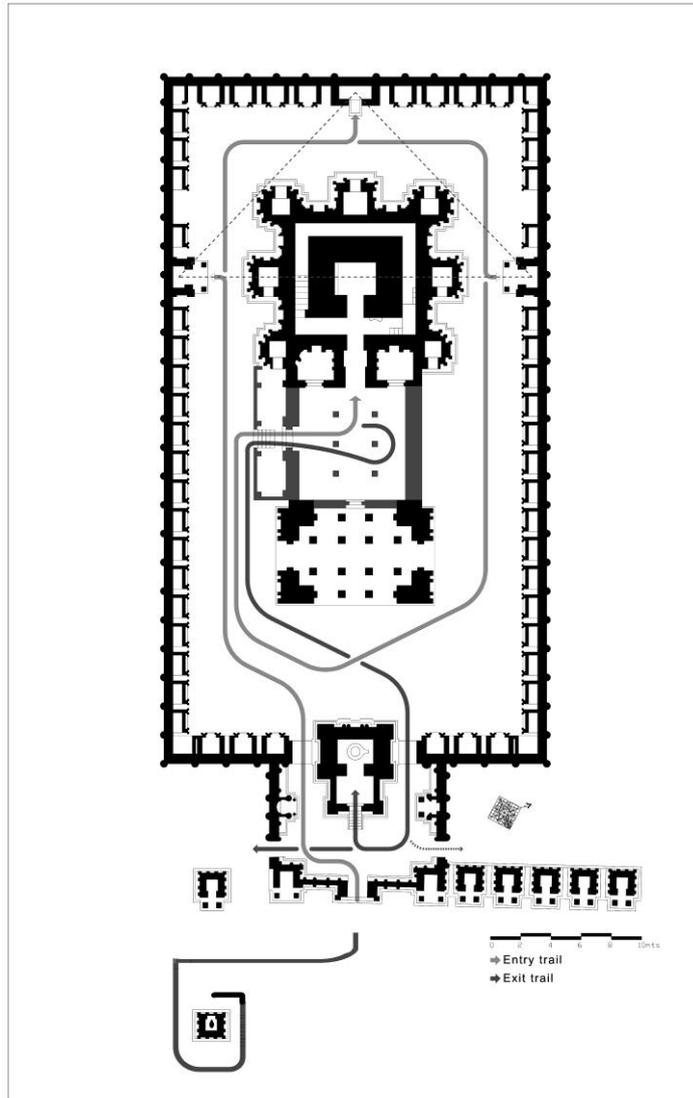
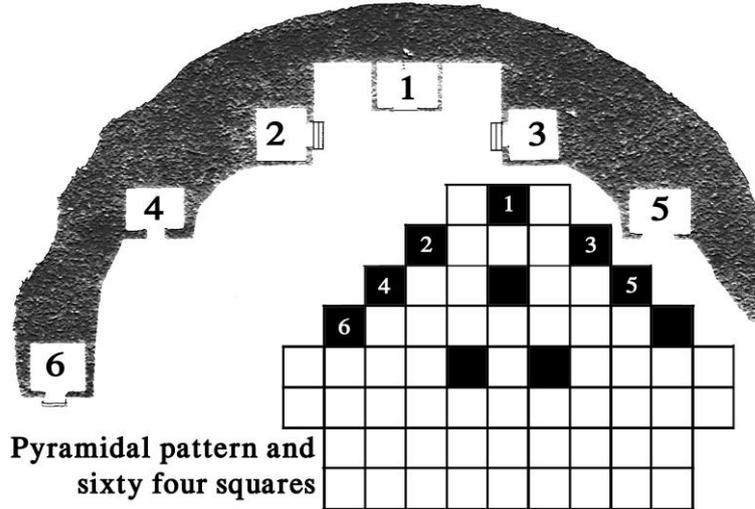


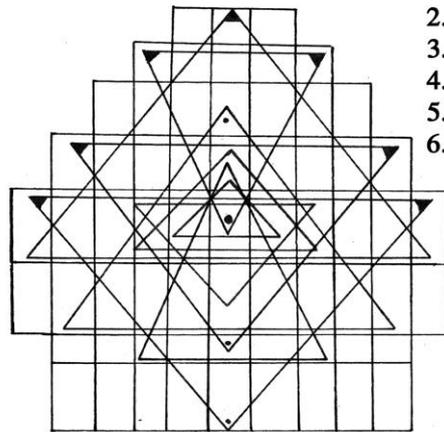
Fig. 19. Plan of the Kailāsanātha Temple showing route of ritual worship in the *pradakṣiṇa* pattern

Tirupparaṅkuṅṛam North Cave Complex



Pyramidal pattern and sixty four squares

- 1. Maḥiṣāsuraṁardinī Cella
- 2. Viṣṇu-Vaikuṅṭamūrti Cella
- 3. Somāskanda-Liṅga Cella
- 4. Gaḷalakṣmī Cella
- 5. Bhuvaneśvarī Cella
- 6. Jyeṣṭhādevī Cella



Śrīcakra of the Tirupparaṅkuṅṛam temple
(for details see Rajarajan 1991)

Fig. 20. Pyramidal set-up of the Tirupparaṅkuṅṛam temples (conjectural) and Tirupparaṅkuṅṛam temples accommodated within the Śrīcakra (isometric)